



W. Cloud

Col 2nd Kan. Cav

1863



CHURCH AND STATE
OR
MEXICAN POLITICS

FROM
CORTEZ TO DIAZ.

UNDER X RAYS.

BY W. F. CLOUD,
SOLDIER OF TWO WARS.

*FIRST SERGEANT "K," CO. 2D OHIO, MEXICAN WAR.
COLONEL 2D KANSAS CAVALRY, 1862-5.*

KANSAS CITY, MO.
PECK & CLARK, PRINTERS.
—1896.—

Entered, according to an Act of Congress, in the year 1896, by
COL. W. F. CLOUD,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

F
1226
C. 122

"ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY"

TO THE ABOVE SENTIMENT
THIS VOLUME IS APPROVINGLY DEDICATED.

W. F. CLOUD.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

1334207

CONTENTS.

Book I.

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTION, - - - -	11
CHAPTER II.—1492 to 1521, - - - -	25
Discovery. Conquest and Occupation of Mexico.	
CHAPTER III.—1521 to 1808, - - - -	36 ✓
Viceroys. Policies. Inhumanity. Corruption.	
CHAPTER IV.—1808 to 1811, - - - -	48
Hidalgo. <i>El grito de Dolores</i> . Battles. Defeat. Death.	
CHAPTER V.—1811 to 1821, - - - -	66
Hidalgo's Successors. Overthrow of Revolution.	
CHAPTER VI.—1821 to 1823, - - - -	80
Mexico Independent. Iturbide Emperor. Career. Death.	
CHAPTER VII.—1823 to 1831, - - - -	92
Mexico a Republic. Insurrections. Tragedies.	
CHAPTER VIII.—1831 to 1844, - - - -	106
Santa Anna President. Dictator. Overthrow.	
CHAPTER IX.—1844 to 1855, - - - -	118
Santa Anna re-established. Banished. War with U. S. More of Santa Anna as President and Refugee.	
CHAPTER X.—1855 to 1858, - - - -	132
Many Presidents. Revolutions. Confiscation of Church Property.	
CHAPTER XI.—1858 to 1859, - - - -	143
Juarez President. Zuloaga Church President. War. War. War.	
CHAPTER XII.—1859 to 1861, - - - -	154
Continued War. Juarez triumphant. Church defeated.	
CHAPTER XIII.—1861 to 1863, - - - -	166
Many reforms. Church secures foreign intervention.	
CHAPTER XIV.—1863 to 1864, - - - -	176
Maximillian Crowned Emperor. Monroe Doctrine.	

	PAGE
CHAPTER XV.—1864 to 1866, Maximilian a failure. French evacuate. Carlote insane.	186
CHAPTER XVI.—1866 to 1867, Maximilian overthrown. Executed. Unvailing sym- pathy.	196
CHAPTER XVII.—1867 to 1872, Juarez re-elected. Many reforms. Death of Juarez.	203
CHAPTER XVIII.—1872 to 1878, Lerdo President. Revolution. Diaz President.	208
CHAPTER XIX.—1878 to 1880, Biography of Diaz. Reforms. Declines re-election.	216
CHAPTER XX.—1880 to 1895, Gonzalez President. Diaz President three terms. Grand progress and elevation of people.	227
CHAPTER XXI. Chronological Table of Governors of Mexico.	236
CHAPTER XXII. Miscellaneous facts.	240
CHAPTER XXIII. Bull Fight.	259
CHAPTER XXIV. Rome under X Rays.	265

Book II.

History of Texas and of the Mexican War.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTION	3
CHAPTER II.—Texas, 1634 to 1836, Discovery and occupation. A Mexican State. Outrages.	6
CHAPTER III.—1836 to 1845, Gains Independence. Annexed to the United States.	19
CHAPTER IV.—Mexican War, 1845 to 1848, Taylor's Battles and Victories.	32
CHAPTER V.—1848, Scott captures Vera Cruz and City of Mexico. Peace. Numbers of Army and Navy. The dead.	43

PREFACE.

The doors to the temple of Janus were thrown wide open in 1846 and two nations, Mexico and the United States, rushed to arms.

Book II of this volume gives reasons for the conflict, its details and results.

Prompted by patriotism, youthful impulse, and a slight ripple in true love's course, the writer, clothed in the national blue, and enrolled as a volunteer from Ohio, found himself in July, 1846, on the banks of the Rio Grande, "with rifle in his hand."

The march along the line of operations up to Buena Vista and a year of campaigning in Mexico gave opportunity to learn much as to the country and the people, their social, religious and political life.

Nearly a half century of observation and inquiry as to the history of that land and of the people, supplemented by a recent tour of the country and a visit to each of the historic battle-fields, where American soldiers gained victory, fame, and finally, on settlement, some land—has greatly augmented that knowledge and revived and intensified the memories and emotions incident to the military campaign.

But intense and interesting as are those emotions, the recent knowledge acquired as to Mexican politics has claimed earliest attention. Hence this volume, wherein the author holds strictly to the powers, parties

and politicians who have impressed themselves and their principles upon the very interesting history of Mexico by individual and combined efforts, and to a continuous chain of results which have followed.

Much, very much of interesting truth about the land of "sunshine and flowers," and of the very peculiar people who inhabit the same is left out as not being embraced in the lines of this self-assumed task. What a world Mexico would have been under the control of Northern Europe.

For data, the author has laid hands upon histories printed in both English and Spanish; the latter, obtained in Mexico, contain many facts which if ever presented in American books, has escaped his notice.

These data with occasional quotations, grouped chronologically into as condensed form as possible, are now offered to the public with the hope that they are not entirely unworthy of perusal.

This is more cheerfully done at this juncture in American politics, that facts in the history of Mexico may in some degree enlighten a deliberating people, to whom the matter of ecclesiastical meddling in national, state and municipal, political and educational affairs has become quite a vital one.

In Mexico, Rome had her will as to such questions and matters for three centuries and a half, and this history shows, though in a faint degree, the results. If there is anything despicable therein, the author is not at fault, for he simply narrates facts and "tells the truth" as to what ecclesiasticism did for Mexico. Not only that, but he tells what Mexican statesmen and patriots have done to ecclesiasticism.

Organizations in the Union, whether secret or other-

wise, whose aim is to check and limit Church control of State questions, including education, cannot claim originality: as, by the truths herein it will be seen that Mexicans did such work more than a quarter of a century ago, and did it well.

Secret societies, as Jesuits (largely political) and of that ilk, though suppressed in Catholic Mexico, are not dead, neither yet sleeping in the United States; and therefore there may be great propriety in patriotic Americans "fighting the devil with fire."

If secret political work is to be condemned, let the rule apply to emissaries of the church of Rome who conspire against American popular education and against the independence of the State of any Church control.

Forming an opinion of the Romish church entirely upon its history in Mexico, it would be declared to be a base, sanguinary, political organization; seeking and using power for gain and individual advantage; entirely destitute of spiritual knowledge or experience and resting alone in form. In that light the author treats it.

To Inventors of Written Language? To many who have written histories, and especially to the authors of Willson's American history and Bancroft's "Historia de Mexico" and "Porfirio Diaz su Biografia," gratitude is hereby expressed for writing, and writings; otherwise this book had not been open to your inspection, my kind reader, from whom I crave indulgence.

W. F. CLOUD.

KANSAS CITY, MO., March 23, 1896.

History of Mexican Politics.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

IN THE beginning, when the solar system was conceived, the orbs constructed, and space in the great family of systems assigned, the button was pressed by Omnic power, and there was harmonious unjarring motion.

Then our earth, fulfilling its part, took to revolving on its axis, having a surface velocity of a thousand miles an hour; and while thus revolving it took a speed of a thousand miles a minute in its course around the central sun. It rushes through cold, cold, dark, dark, limitless space, fortunately carrying a thin coating of air and a coat, or spots, of heat, variable in location and intensity, and a hemisphere of sunlight, also variable, whereby life upon its surface is possible. Thus it has continued from—when?

The family of mankind, who have peopled the surface of the earth for an indefinite time, failed to note the wonderful facts of speed, and systems of surrounding worlds until a comparatively recent period. Inspired writers omitted to mention facts as to nature, science, mathematics, astronomy, geography.

The Great Teacher Himself confined His statements

of truth to a very limited line of thought and observation.

The concentrated wisdom of man developed written language about forty centuries ago. About, or a little more than, four centuries have passed since Copernicus suggested, or restated, the facts of the Solar System.

The bold, persevering, and alleged, heretical navigator Columbus, made his voyage of discovery; and together the astronomer and the sailor presented facts which were to revolutionize not only natural history and science, but theology also. The doctrines of a flat, stationary earth and of a stationary upward heaven were antagonized and disproved by the new education.

Then was aroused to battle against popular education the best organized and most extensive system of Church and State which the world contains upon its surface, and that fight thus commenced by the Roman Catholic church has continued to the present time, for there is an irreconcilable contention between popish priestcraft and free and full knowledge.

The great reformer, Luther, and the telescope-perfecter, Galileo, by reason of the truths which they presented and taught, as to spiritual and natural things, both encountered fierce and severe opposition and punishment. But even though a tongue should have been stilled and a recantation secured at the command of the Church the world still moves, and truth is a winner.

The fires and torments of the Inquisition, built and constructed with all the fiendish hate and inventive genius of Roman Catholics, failed to suppress truth and education. The printing press, coincidentally started in the fifteenth century, has proved more than a match for the bone-crushing presses of the "Holy Office." The latter

have been stopped, it is hoped forever, while the first, in more perfected form continues to shed light, beneficent and converting light, dissipating the errors and cruelties of Rome. A clear case of the survival of the fittest.

Out from the midst of the contest, in the seventeenth century, from one who held delegated regal power from Europe, over a province in America, came the following utterance: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing divulges them and commits libels against the government. God keep us from both!"

Thus the Church and the State in those days of the dominance of Rome detested and antagonized free schools and the printing press.

The winds and the waves were propitious; and on the 12th of October, 1492, "old style," or the 24th of that month, "new style," Columbus realized to the most happy fruition the truth of the theory which he had matured, by long reflection and experimental inquiry; and the most important event recorded on history's pages, resulting from individual genius and enterprise, became an assured fact. A new world, or a new half of a very old world, was introduced to the astonished wiseacres and rulers of civilization, and the rotundity of the earth was demonstrated, to the disgust of the Church of Rome, in which was embodied the learning and the bigotry of the age.

Yes, a new world was discovered and given over to that kind of civilization in which Rome presented and performed her will, as to dealing with the inhabitants

of the land and establishing her policies of civil, religious, and educational governments; thereby showing just what are her aspirations, theories and intentions toward all peoples, in all ages, and furnishing object lessons to Americans in this nineteenth century of Christ.

Rome never changes, is never reformed. Infallibility cannot submit to change of principle, plan, purpose nor process.

When the compiler of this volume returned recently from a tour of inquiry in Mexico, May, 1894, he heard a distinguished Roman Catholic priest in Kansas City, Missouri, deliver an address before a Protestant assembly in the Congregational church in that city, upon the position which Satolli, the "American Pope," took on the question of the public school system of America.

Having just returned from Mexico, a country which was, for three hundred and fifty years, subject exclusively to the educational system of Rome, and having seen the results in the ignorance, degradation and superstition of the people, and their poverty and lack of ambition, he was very much surprised to hear Father Dalton say: "The Roman Catholic church is not understood in the matter of education. Instead of being opposed to, it favors the public school system. The Roman Catholic church originated the public school system. If fault is found with the public schools, it is because they are not of a higher grade, and fail in the extent and scope of their instruction. There should be education of the heart, the mind, the body. The Church does not wish religion to be taught in the public schools. Roman Catholics are proud of the existence and usefulness of the public

schools, and gladly contribute to the maintainance of them, and pay tax for their support as cheerfully as they pay for their parochial schools. Priests of the Roman Catholic church who declaim against the public school system of this country speak only for themselves and do not represent the Church. Some Catholics have taught that each nationality, coming as immigrants to this country, should bring their Bishops with them, and thus maintain their forms of faith and systems of education; but recognizing as did the Pope of Rome the value of the public schools of America, he said 'No,' for the school system was first introduced by Rome. Rome has tried to follow the Pauline rule of being all things to all. The perpetuity of the Church is involved in this matter of education, and children to remain Catholics must have the two-fold education which is to be acquired in the ordinary school and in the parochial school."

While delivering himself of these assertions, many of which are false to the knowledge of all, he failed in that ready and eloquent style which ordinarily characterizes his platform addresses, and struggled like a horse in quicksand; and one could hardly suppress the use of the old-time saying: "Oh, what a magnificent liar you would make, if you would only give your attention to it."

"This is my grievance; the State school is non-religious * * I put the question: Ought we not to have in connection with the school religious instruction? I would permeate the regular State school with religion."
—Archbishop Ireland.

"She (the Church) has the right of subjecting the study of philosophy, moral science, and civil law to ecclesiastical authority."—Canon law of Pius IX, 1864.

“It’s (the States) assumption of the right to tax a powerful minority to support a school system which it will not use must be resisted.”—Roman Catholic Review.

Rome, April 18, 1895.—The pope, through the congregation of the propaganda, has addressed a letter to the Canadian bishops, condemning the frequenting of Protestant or neutral schools by the Catholics of Manitoba.”

The assertion that “Rome becomes all things to all” and “that children to remain Catholics must be taught in the parochial schools,” however, should not be disputed.

In charity to Priest Dalton, it may be said he spoke for himself only, and does not represent the Church.

What the parochial schools of Rome have done for a people where ecclesiasticism had undisputed control may be seen in what the historian has written of our neighbor on the south. Is the school system of the Church reformed? Rome yields to force of circumstances, at times, “becomes all things to all” for policy’s sake. But does she ever experience a change of heart? History answers, “Never!”

“Of the state of learning and education among the Mexican people,” (and the desire on the part of the clergy to keep them in ignorance,) “some idea may be formed when it is considered that as late as 1840 among the entire white population of the country, not more than one in five could read and write; and among the Indians and mixed classes, not one in fifty; a startling fact for a republic, and one of the prominent causes for that incapacity for self-government which the people exhibited up to that time.”—Willson’s American History.

This ignorance was the result of a studied and systematic effort to limit the degree of instruction accorded to the people. Whenever any proposition was made, in the early days, to favor the education of the people as a means to secure their elevation and advancement the cry was made by the clergy, "that the elevation of servants and Indians was to imperil their future and eternal interests." The restriction of their education was with the full assent of the friars and the clergy, and they predicted that instruction was useless, and would result in evil.

The Viceroy Brancifort declared in 1795 "that a knowledge of the catechism was sufficient, and thus he proposed to deprive of education eighty or ninety per cent of the population."

It was not until the reforms in the politics and constitution of Mexico in 1858-73, when liberty of teaching, of the press, of the forum and of speech was secured, that education was possible to the common people of that country, and the results are surprising and gratifying.

May 15, 1894, at the opening of the Catholic Educational Exhibit at the Grand Central Palace in New York, after Archbishop Corrigan had delivered an address, Congressman Bourke Cochran spoke as follows: "To declare," said he, "that the Catholic church is hostile to the republic is to declare that the mother is hostile to her offspring. Those who tell us that the Catholic church or its educational system is hostile to the government must speak a falsehood. We cannot have it otherwise. What the church is doing to-day in the parochial schools is just the same that she did in ages gone by. I believe that the time has come when

Catholics should assert themselves, and say that they are the men above all others whose training and faith compel them to be live citizens of this republic."

Roman Catholics, unfortunately, have asserted themselves as "live citizens of this republic," and their "training and faith," applied to American politics has developed Tammany Hall. That organization is Catholic if anything, as to the personnel of officers and membership.

Developments of recent date tend to confirm the popular estimate of it, which has rested upon and in the minds of the people for many years, as the very personification of dishonesty and corruption, debased, and debasing all departments of business over which that live, active element—the police—Catholics as a body, can by any means have control, whether legitimate or otherwise.

The "training and faith" of its constituents, their numbers, character and policies, assure the people of this republic of continued evil results upon municipality, state and nation. What moral, political or healthful religious interest, would suffer if it were to be annihilated or—reformed? And for that matter, what if a like fate should fall upon Rome in America?

It had been hoped by friends of truth, morality and religion, that the Roman Catholic church had heeded some of the lessons taught and illustrated in Protestant America; but look at the latest exhibition of ecclesiastical power and discipline.

Father Ducey sympathized with municipal and moral reform, and lent his aid to the movements to investigate, punish and annihilate Tammany. Archbishop Corrigan, in his holy office representing Rome in

America in the evening of the nineteenth century of Christ, administered "canonical reproof" to Father Ducey for so doing, and "there you are." Those who swallow Rome must take her without expecting reform condiments.

The crime of Tammany in politics is the crime of the century, that of polluting the American ballot. What political crime compares with it? Ask yourself! Inquire! To combat this crime, what is the state of public morals? In what condition is the public conscience to grapple with the great problems that are facing the country and demanding adjustment?

The American people are the victims of a bad habit, the habit of tipping with corruption in politics. Whence came this gigantic evil and corruption so prevalent? From Tammany. From the "training and faith" of its members. Whence came a perverted public conscience? From the "live citizens of this republic," whose "training and faith" have been acquired at the hands of Catholic teachers, lay as well as clerical. From a conscience acquired by Catholic training comes willingness to commit crimes against the ballot box, and the law, especially municipal law. The exemption of Tammany offenders from punishment has emboldened like crime throughout the country.

A Tammany boss or a ballot machine boss has come to be considered a "smooth one," and as having perpetrated a good joke when he gets the best of the people by avoiding punishment for well known crimes against election laws.

Every Catholic policeman who emerges from a saloon, kept by a Catholic, in all probability, on a Sunday morning, wiping off his chin, feels that he has the

people by the heels when he thus tolerates a violation of the municipal law, closing saloons on Sundays, when he thus commits moral perjury.

Take the blue coat and the silver star off the Roman Catholic church communicant and place them upon Protestants who are in good standing in their churches. Who would then expect open saloons and the imbibing of beer by the custodians of the public peace and the sworn enforcers of the law on Sunday mornings, or conniving at or committing crime under official authority? One class would have a Roman Catholic conscience inside the blue coat and the other a Protestant "inward mentor."

The ease with which indulgence may be obtained and the facility with which absolution can be secured, from Roman Catholic priests, gives a tendency to crime and to the exercise of moral depravity the world over; and this fact should ostracize all professedly sacred, consecrated people who deal in indulgences and absolutions at so much per dozen, or singly, thus giving out falsely that God's permission for and condonement of crime and sin can be secured for a money consideration. Out upon such blasphemy!

The Roman Catholic church has made a record showing its position as to republics, and just what that record is will be seen in the pages of this book. It will herein be shown that all ecclesiastics in good standing, from the pope to the lowest of the clergy in Mexico concentrated their powers, spiritual, military and financial, to maintain monarchy, centralism and imperialism, and to defeat republicanism in that country, and that if any of their number favored a true republic they were denounced, excommunicated and executed.

In the pages which treat of the Monroe Doctrine and its disregard by all the Catholic powers of Europe, will be seen how false is the assumption of Bourke Cochran that the Catholic church has ever been a fostering mother to this republic, or that the Union is in any sense the offspring of Rome, or that Rome had desire for its perpetuation; but otherwise that the pope officially and joyfully recognized the confederate states of America in 1863.

While the battle to limit the power of ecclesiasticism in America is on, Pope Leo XIII. enters the field in the form of an "encyclical," received at arch-episcopal headquarters, New York, in July, 1894, from which the following:

"The liberty of the state, however, need not arouse rivalries and antagonisms, for the Church aspires to no power and obeys no ambition. What it desires solely is to preserve among men the exercise of virtue, and by this means assure their eternal salvation. And so it uses condescension and maternal processes. More than this, having regard to the requirements of all societies, it sometimes *waives* the exercise of *its own rights*, as has been shown abundantly in its *conventions with different states*. Nothing is further from its thoughts than to trespass upon the rights of civil authority, which in return should respect *the rights* of the Church, and *beware of usurping any part of them*. And now we can consider what is happening in our time. What tendency do we see by many of the churches? Suspected, disdained, hated, accused, and what is worse, no efforts are spared to bring *it under the yoke of the civil authority*. Its properties are confiscated and its liberties narrowed; its education of the aspirants to the priesthood is ham-

pered; religious societies are dissolved or forbidden. In short, we realize a revival of all the regalist methods. This is a violation of the *rights of the Church*. It is preparing lamentable catastrophes for society, for it is the open contradiction of the plans of God. The State has its own rights and duties. The Church has hers. Between them should be bonds of strictest concord. So would surely be suppressed the *unrest visible in the relations of Church and State*. Another grave peril to unity is the Masonic sect, a formidable power which has long oppressed all nations, especially Catholic nations."

By this manifest, Americans will see that the pope still urges the rights of the Church to be superior to those of the State, and that all attempts to bring the Church "*under the yoke of the civil authority*" prepares society for "lamentable catastrophes," and moreover that "it is an open contradiction of the plans of God."

Fortunately, any lamentable catastrophes which may befall American society for thus violating the plans of God will not be attended with the pains of the inquisition. No thanks, however, to Rome. And anything of the lamentable nature which may threaten in the form of secret military Catholic societies can well be contemplated with complacency when it is recollected that in each and every case where Rome has taken up the sword to maintain ecclesiasticisms, she has lost irretrievably—from England centuries ago, to Mexico a quarter of a century since.

Americans who fear because Rome is securing power in our army and in civil offices and is almost monopolizing the police departments of our cities, may know that to Rome there is a limit; that the reaction has set in, that the lines are being drawn, and that the

issues now on-coming will remain in active contest until Americanism alone will rule in America.

Rome never won a battle, except with such people as the Mexican Indians, and then it was only a temporary victory; for in that nation there was providentially raised up one of the full-blood natives, Juarez, who "downed" the ecclesiastics for all time.

And the complaint which the misinformed pope makes as to confiscations, forbidding and dissolving the societies of Jesuits, Nuns and Sisters of Charity, and suppressing priest-making schools should not be made against Protestant America, but against Catholic Mexico, where such things are true.

The pope should study the map or have instruction given him, else people will refuse to believe him "infallible."

The profusion of the words, "rights of the Church," "its own right," "to bring it under the yoke of the civil authority," show clearly that Leo XIII. still holds to the dictum of Pius IX., announced when he was outfitting Maximilian for his usurpation of authority as emperor over the republic of Mexico. "Great are the rights of nations, and they must be heeded; but greater and more sacred are the rights of the Church."

As to any "unrest" which may exist "in the relations of church and state," it "would surely be suppressed" if the "old man on the Tyber" and his satellites and superstitious dupes would be content with American institutions. All other churches and the state sustain very happy and restful amenities. Romanists monopolize the disquiet.

If his holiness were to abandon his prejudices, prove himself to be "worthy and well qualified," and

seek "light," he might find that the detested sect of Free Masous are not such oppressors of nations as he falsly charges them to be.



CHAPTER II.

1492 TO 1521.

WEST INDIA ISLANDS OCCUPIED—GREED OF ADVENTURERS—NATIVES ENSLAVED—MAIN LAND DISCOVERED—CIVILIZATION—BATTLES—CORTEZ—PIOUS INSTRUCTIONS—IMPIOUS EXPECTATIONS—LANDS—BURNS SHIPS—MARCHES ON MEXICO—HOSPITALITY OF MONTEZUMA—TRAITOROUS RETURN—BATTLES—FINAL CONQUEST—FACTS AS TO THE COUNTRY.

THE West Indian Islands, first discovered by Columbus, were quickly taken possession of by greedy and conscienceless Roman Catholic discoverers and adventurers. They not only took the lands, but to satisfy still further the greed which was their ruling passion, those false representatives of the meek, lowly, and inoffensive Christ, made slaves of the natives, and compelled them to work and labor for them upon their own former homesteads, without any compensation.

The subjugation of the natives was accomplished only by the most cruel and barbarous processes. While making the conquest of Cuba one Panfilo de Narvaez, who commanded a force which was scouring the island, encountered a chief named Hatuey. This chief had fled from St. Domingo to escape the oppression of the Spaniards, and he now made a desperate resistance. For so doing he was condemned to be burned alive. Then it

was that he made a wonderful reply more eloquent than volumes of invective. Being bound to the stake, with combustibles around him, and with the flaming torch in the hand of the willing executioner, a Roman Catholic priest—cross in hand—with oily words urged him to embrace Christianity that his soul might secure admission to heaven. He inquired whether the white men would be found there? On being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed, “then I will not become a Christian, for I would not go again to a place where I must find men so cruel.”

The fertility of the soil and the inexpensiveness of labor insured wealth, and multitudes of adventurers flocked to the New World. Soon the lands were occupied to their utmost limits and capacity. Then the spirit of adventure, discovery and greed prompted to new voyages and new conquests; and fourteen years after the first landing was made upon the islands, the main land of the continent was discovered: and in 1506, the eastern coast of Yucatan first felt the accursed footsteps of the Roman Catholic slave-maker and despoiler.

The month of March, 1517, saw Francisco Fernandez de Cordova leave Cuba with a fleet of three small vessels, bound on an exploring expedition along the coast of Yucatan. On approaching the shore, the Spaniards were surprised to find, instead of naked savages as they had expected, a people decently clad in cotton garments. On landing, their wonder was increased at beholding several large edifices built of stone. The natives were much more bold and warlike than those of the islands, and the Spaniards were everywhere received with the most determined opposition. At one place fifty-seven of the Spaniards were killed, and Cordova himself received

a wound of which he died soon after his return to Cuba.

Notwithstanding the disastrous result of that expedition, another was planned the following year; and under the direction of Juan de Grijalva a portion of the southern coast of Mexico was explored, and a large amount of treasure obtained by trafficking with the natives. Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, under whose auspices the voyage of Grijalva had been made, enriched by the result and elated with success far beyond his expectations, now determined to undertake the conquest of the wealthy countries that had been discovered, and hastily fitted out an armament for the purpose. Not being able to lead the expedition in person, he gave the command to Fernando Cortez, who sailed with eleven vessels, having on board a force of 508 infantry, 16 cavalry and their horses, 109 sailors, and 200 native Cubans; they had also ten cannons and four falconettes.

The command of this expedition was not given to Cortez without considerable hesitation, for want of confidence, as he had not the best moral or financial reputation. Velasquez and the clergy who had directed the policies of the expeditions gave the commander instructions which contrasted notably with the conduct which he observed. The orders were, that he should comport himself as a Christian warrior, that he should prohibit heresy among his followers, and that in no case should he commit any hostile act against the natives of the country; and that wherever he directed his movements, it was his only duty to make known the infinite goodness and glory of God and of his Catholic majesty, the the king.

In spite of the apparent manifestation of pity and piety, neither the governor, Velasquez, nor the ecclesi-

astics were persuaded that such instructions would be very punctually obeyed, and they expected that they would be so interpreted that a good financial end would result from the expedition. They were given merely for their effect upon the outside world, and with a hope to cover Velasquez from any possible censure from his sovereign, having a constant hope that they would receive their share of the booty.

In March, 1519, Cortez landed in Tabasco, a southern province of Mexico, where he had several encounters with the natives, whom he routed with great slaughter. Proceeding thence westward and along the coast, he landed at the place where Vera Cruz is now situated. Here he was hospitably received by the natives, and two officers of a monarch, who was called Montezuma, came to inquire what his intentions were in his visit, and to offer him assistance to enable him to continue his journey. Cortez respectfully assured them that he came with the most friendly sentiments, but that he was intrusted with affairs of such moment by the king, his sovereign, that he could impart them to no one but to the Emperor Montezuma himself, and therefore requested them to conduct him into the presence of their master.

The officers, knowing that the request would be disagreeable to Montezuma, endeavored to dissuade Cortez from his intentions, at the same time making him valuable presents, which only increased his avidity. Messengers were dispatched to the monarch, giving him an account of everything that had occurred since the arrival of the Spaniards. Presents of great value, consisting of golden ornaments, finely woven cotton garments, and beautifully wrought feather robes, were returned by

him; and requests were made, and finally commands given, that the Spaniards should leave the country—but all to no purpose.

Cortez, after destroying his vessels, that his soldiers should be left without any resources but their valor, commenced to march towards the Mexican capital. On his way thither, several nations, tributary to Montezuma, but who were at the point of revolt, threw off their allegiance and joined the Spaniards. Montezuma himself, alarmed and irresolute, continued to send messengers to Cortez; and as his hopes or his fears alternately prevailed, on one day gave him permission to advance; and on the next command him to depart.

As the vast valley of Mexico opened to the view of the Spaniards, they beheld numerous villages and cultivated fields extending to the limit of their vision; and in the middle of the plain, partly encompassing a large lake and partly built on islands within it, stood the City of Mexico, adorned with its numerous temples and turrets; the whole presenting to the eyes of the Spaniards a view so novel and wonderful that they could hardly convince themselves that it was real, and not a mirage or a dream.

Montezuma received the Spaniards with great pomp and display, admitted them within the city, assigned them a spacious and elegant edifice for their accommodation, supplied all their wants, and bestowed valuable presents among them indiscriminately. Cortez, nevertheless, soon began to feel solicitude for his situation and safety. He was in the middle of a vast empire, shut up in the center of a large city, and surrounded by multitudes sufficient to overwhelm him on the least intimation of the will of their sovereign.

In this emergency, the wily Cortez with extraordinary daring and depravity formed and executed the plan of seizing the person of the Mexican monarch, and detained him as a hostage for the good conduct of the people. He next induced him, overawed and broken in spirit, to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Spanish crown, and to subject his dominions to the payment of tribute.

Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, became jealous of Cortez and sent a hostile force to capture the adventurer. This caused Cortez to absent himself from the city to meet the new danger which threatened him.

In his absence the Mexicans, incited by the cruelties of the Spaniards who had been left to guard the capital and the Mexican king, flew to arms. Cortez, with rare good fortune having subdued his enemies and incorporated most of them with his own forces, returning, entered the capital without molestation.

Relying too much on his increased strength, he soon laid aside the mask of moderation which had hitherto concealed his designs, and treated the Mexicans like conquered subjects. They, finally convinced that they had nothing to hope except in the utter extermination of the invaders, resumed their attacks upon the Spaniards with renewed fury.

In a sally which Cortez made, twelve of his soldiers were killed, which showed the Mexicans that their enemies were not invincible. Cortez, now fully sensible of his danger, tried what effect the interposition of Montezuma would have upon his irritated subjects. At sight of their king, whom they almost worshiped as a god, the weapons of the Mexicans dropped from their hands, and every head was bowed with reverence. But

when, in obedience to Cortez, the unhappy monarch attempted to mitigate their rage and to persuade them to lay down their arms, murmurs, threats and reproaches ran through their ranks. Their rage broke forth with uncontrollable fury, and, regardless of their monarch, they again poured in upon the Spaniard's flights of arrows and volleys of stones. Two arrows wounded Montezuma before he could be removed, and a blow from a stone brought him down.

The Mexicans, on seeing their king fall by their own hands, were struck with remorse and fled in horror. Montezuma himself, scorning to survive this last humiliation, rejected with disdain all attentions of the Spaniards, refused to take nourishment, and soon terminated his unhappy life.

Cortez, now despairing of terms with the Mexicans, after several desperate encounters with them, began a retreat from the capital; but innumerable hosts hemmed him in on every side, and his march was almost a continual battle.

On the sixth day of the retreat, the almost exhausted Spaniards, now reduced in numbers, encountered at Otumba on an extended plain, the whole Mexican force, which extended as far as the eye could reach. There was no hope of succor or escape, and it was left for them to conquer or die. Cortez immediately led his men to the charge. The Mexicans received them with fortitude, yet their best battalions gave way before Spanish discipline and arms. The very multitude of their enemies, however, pressing upon them from every side, seemed sufficient to overwhelm the Spaniards.

They, seeing no end of their toil nor any hope of victory, were on the point of yielding to despair.

At this moment Cortez, seeing the great Mexican standard advancing and recollecting that on its fate depended the event of every battle, assembled a few of his bravest officers, and at their head cut his way through the opposing ranks, struck down the Mexican general, and secured the standard. The moment their general fell and the standard disappeared, the panic-struck Mexicans threw away their arms and fled to the mountains, making no further opposition to the retreat of the Spaniards.

Notwithstanding the reverses which he had experienced, Cortez still looked forward with confidence to the conquest of the whole Mexican empire. After receiving supplies and reinforcements, he, in the month of December, 1520, again departed for the interior with a force of five hundred Spaniards and many thousands of friendly Indians.

After various successes and reverses and a siege of the capital which lasted seventy-five days—the new sovereign, Guatemozin, having been captured—in August, 1521, the city yielded; the fate of the Aztec empire was decided and Mexico became a possession of Spain.

One can but regret that the Aztecs had not annihilated the Roman Catholic invaders; had forbidden their three centuries of crime and outrage: had maintained their civilization, a civilization which was superior to that of Spain, and by which Europe might have been instructed; and thus been left to work out their destiny parallel with the histories and destinies of aboriginal peoples, until the pure light of inspiration and Christianity, shining forth from Protestant evangelization, could have shown them the way to better things of a

religious order, and could have blended their native art and science—lost through Catholic superstition and greed—with that of Europe, to the betterment of both civilizations.

They were entitled to continue as a power, a nation, a people, among nations, powers and peoples; and their criminal overthrow and debasement is one of the greatest outrages written in the world's history, and remains unjustified and unjustifiable.

The original Aztec empire comprised but a small part of the territory embraced in modern Mexico. But the conquest of the chief military nation of the country gave the Spaniards possession from the gulf of Mexico to the Pacific ocean, and as far to the north and south of the valley as their explorers and colonists wished to penetrate and occupy.

One of the most interesting facts relating to the new possessions of the conquering Spaniards was the climate. Although the difference of latitude alone would naturally have the effect of producing considerable changes in the temperature of the more distant parts, yet it is not to this circumstance so much as the peculiarity of its geological structure that Mexico owes that singular variety of climate by which it is distinguished from every other country in the world.

The Andes mountains, which are a single chain in South America and the isthmus of Panama, divide into two chains on entering the northern continent which diverge to the east and west; but, still preserving their direction to the north, leave in the center an immense platform or table-land, intersected by the higher points or ridges of the great mountain chain by which it is supported, but raised in the more central parts to the

height of 7,000 to 8,000 feet above the level of the sea.

In a valley of this table-land, at an elevation of 7,600 feet, is situated the City of Mexico. Upon the whole of this table-land the effect of geographical position is neutralized by the extreme rarefaction of the air, while upon the eastern and western declivities it resumes its natural influences as it approaches the level of the sea.

On the ascent from Vera Cruz, the changing climates rapidly succeed each other, and the traveler in a few hours passes in review the whole scale of vegetation. The plants of the tropics are exchanged for the evergreen oak, and the deadly atmosphere of Vera Cruz for the sweet, mild air of Jalapa. A little further the oak gives place to the fir, the air becomes more piercing, the sun, though it scorches, has no longer the deleterious effect upon the human frame, and nature assumes a new and peculiar aspect.

With a cloudless sky and a brilliantly pure atmosphere, there is a great want of moisture and little luxuriance of vegetation. Vast plains follow each other in apparently endless succession, each separated from the rest by a little ridge of hills which appear to have formed at some previous period the basin of an extended chain of lakes. Such, with some slight variations, is the general character of the table-lands of the interior.

Wherever there is water there is fertility, but the rivers are few and insignificant in comparison with the rivers of the United States, and in the interval the sun parches, instead of enriching the soil. High and barren plains of sand, from which isolated mountains rise to the regions of perpetual snow, occupy a large part of the interior of Northern Mexico. Nor does nature recover

her wonted vigor until the streams which filter from the mountains are sufficiently formed to dispense moisture on their passage to the ocean.

Almost all the fruits and grains of Europe succeed well on the table-lands, while bordering on the Pacific ocean and the gulf of Mexico tropical fruits are found in abundance. The whole eastern coast, extending back to that point in the slope of the mountains at which tropical fruits cease to thrive, is susceptible of the highest cultivation.



CHAPTER III.

1521 TO 1808.

MEXICO RULED BY VICEROYS — POLICES — LAWS —
TROOPS — CATHOLIC RELIGION IMPOSED — IN-
HUMANITY — LAS CASES INTERFERES — OFFICIAL
CORRUPTION — CASTES — POVERTY — LAWS OF THE
INDIES — INQUISITION.

THE conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards vested the ownership and sovereignty of the country in the crown of Spain. The government of Spain at the time was an absolute monarchy, and the monarchs of the mother country ruled their American possessions by Viceroy, the policies and laws of whose administrations were dictated from Spain and enforced by Spanish soldiers. This character of government was maintained until Mexico became independent in 1821.

The Catholic religion, introduced into the country by the Spaniards, was the only religion that was tolerated in Mexico during the whole period of its colonial existence, and up to 1873, when the wise and beneficent reforms inaugurated by Benito Juarez,—the only full-blood Indian who ever occupied the chair of state in Mexico,—culminated in an amendment to the federal constitution, since which all religions are tolerated and protected.

A few years after the conquest, six millions of the natives were induced by fraud and force to embrace the

Roman Catholic religion. But, although they changed their profession, their faith remained essentially the same, inasmuch as they were not educated, and performed their religious ceremonies by rote and with the use of an unintelligible foreign tongue. Therefore they knew very little of religion but its external forms; and it was more than suspected that multitudes of the professed converts retained faith in their ancient idols.

Many of the more intelligent contrasted, with a favorable verdict to their system, the cruelties inflicted in the "halls of torment" of the inquisition upon the victims therein disciplined, with the sacrifice of victims of war, offered in their own religious rites, wherein the most distinguished priests of their respective creeds performed the rites and inflicted the cruelties. They also held that the consuming of the bodies of their victims, which was part of their religion, was much more consistent than was the eating of the body of the Christians' God, as performed in the Holy Eucharist.

The establishment of a colonial government was followed by the bondage of the natives, who were reduced to the most cruel and humiliating form of slavery.

The tyranny, inhumanity and greed of the conquerers and adventurers who occupied the agricultural lands and operated the mines, led to the perpetration of such excesses, and outrages upon the Indians that it became a well known fact, and was publicly charged, that fifteen million of them were destroyed in the first third of the century of the occupation of the country.

Columbus having discovered the New World, and brought the Indians under the dominion of the Monarch of Spain, laid a tax upon the natives on his second voyage to the new land. This tax was to be paid quarterly and was

excessively exorbitant. Many were unable to pay and therefore they offered time service, or labor, as a substitute for gold and other products of the country. This was accepted and thus a beginning was made of the system of "*repartimientos*," under which the natives finally were made the servants and slaves of the Spaniards.

In 1528 a species of government, or court, called the *audiencia*, with Nuno de Guzman as president, was established in Mexico, and under his reign great cruelties were perpetrated. As usual, greed for gold was his ruling passion; so the chief inhabitants were invited to the City of Mexico with assurances of peace and protection, but when within the power of the president the mask of kindness was thrown off and they were subjected to the most cruel treatment to compel them to produce and surrender the coveted gold. The king of one of the provinces was taken to the house of the president and then his feet were placed in the fire to compel him to give up his treasures.

All of the natives were enslaved and obliged to perform excessively laborious tasks. At times they became insubordinate when they were cruelly whipped with the lash. When their discontent appeared to be general they were declared to be in a state of insubordination, and were subjugated with arms. Entire populations were sold as slaves to countries distant from their places of nativity.

In 1541 while an exploring party of Spaniards were traveling through Panama they were surprised to find the entire abandonment of a country where there was evidence of previous occupation; and were informed, on inquiry, that other invaders had murdered or sold into

slavery the entire population which once had happy homes therein.

In Honduras the inhabitants had been robbed of their properties, and then sold as slaves to other parts of the country; and in another province where there had been cities with from three thousand to fifteen thousand people, there remained in 1547 not more than two hundred persons. In a city that at one time had nine hundred houses, there was found only one single inhabitant, all the rest having been murdered or sold as slaves, and his soliloquy might well have been "thus do Roman Catholics teach Christ and evangelize Indians."

Cruel was the treatment of the natives in all the provinces dominated by the Spaniards, but in no part was the oppression so extreme as in Guatemala, where, under the dominion of Pedro Alvarado, there was repugnant licentiousness utterly indescribable. In their campaigns, against outlying tribes, when their allies needed rations, they were fed upon human bodies as a meat food, their captives being slaughtered for that use as so many cattle. When by reason of a superabundant supply they could select, then the hands and feet of slaughtered children formed an appetizing dish.

No respect was shown to family relations, and the natives were treated as brutes. Houses were entered and desolated; wives were separated from their husbands, and children from their parents; and all were distributed among the soldiers and mariners, as slaves, and compelled to work in the mines of gold and silver, where they perished by thousands.

Very little distinction was made between the allies who assisted the Spaniards, and the other natives who

were conquered by them. The children of their Tlascalcan allies were also made slaves until, in 1547, there remained scarcely one hundred living representatives of that brave and warlike nation, which sent its hundred thousand men along with Cortez to conquer the Aztecs.

This terrible treatment caused attempts at resistance, when they were reduced to greater degradation. No one has language with which to describe the horrors that fell upon these unfortunate creatures. The murders on a grand scale, the gallows, the fire, the torments, the mutilations and branding with red-hot irons which followed the suppression of any attempt to revolt; and in the meantime the hunger, the fatigue, the blows, the prostrations and faintings under oppressively burdensome loads which marked their condition while in a state of submission; all this destroyed the people with terrible rapidity.

The knowledge of these cruelties prompted Bartholomew de Las Cases, bishop of Chiapas, in Mexico, to resign his office and to make common cause against the perpetrators; and he accused them before the whole world.

The court of Madrid, "his most Catholic majesty," awakened by the representations of Las Cases and by the indignation of the civilized world—then being brought under the benign influence of Protestantism—became sensible at last that the tyranny and cruelties which he had so far permitted were repugnant to true religion, to humanity, and also to policy; and he took steps to break the chains of the Mexicans.

Certain laws were enacted by which their condition was to be ameliorated; but the enforcement of them was left to officers whose financial interests led them to give

the edicts only partial effect. The tenor of those laws was, that the natives should have their liberty upon the condition that they should not leave the territory where they were settled; thus, their lands being retained by the Spaniards, they were still obliged to labor for their oppressors, under local laws and regulations.

This system was gradually abolished about the beginning of the eighteenth century, owing to the increased abundance of negro slave labor, introduced on recommendation of Las Cases, yet the Indians were still deprived by the Spanish laws of all the valuable privileges of citizenship, were treated as minors under the tutelage of their superiors, could make no contracts beyond the value of ten pounds, were forbidden to marry with the whites, were prohibited the use of firearms, and were ruled by petty magistrates appointed by the government, which seemed to aim at keeping the natives in a state of poverty and barbarism.

Degenerated from the rank which they held in the days of Montezuma, banished into the most barren districts, where their indolence gained for them only a precarious subsistence; or, as beggars, swarming the streets of the cities, basking in the sun during the day and passing the night in the open air, they afforded, during the long period of the Spanish rule, a sad and striking example of that general degradation which the government of Spain brought upon the natives in all the Spanish-American colonies.

Nor was the colonial government established over the country at all calculated to promote the interests of the native Spanish population. For nearly three centuries, down to the year 1821, Mexico was governed by viceroys appointed by the court of Spain, all of whom,

with one exception, were European Spaniards. Every situation in the gift of the crown was bestowed upon an European, nor is there an instance for many years before the revolution, either in the Church, the army, or the law, in which the door of preferment was opened to a Spaniard, Mexican born.

Through this policy a privileged *caste* arose, distinct from the Mexican Spaniards in feelings, habits and interests, the paid agents of a government whose only aim was to enrich itself without any regard to the abuses perpetrated under its authority. Before the revolution the population of Mexico was divided into seven distinct castes: 1. The old Spaniards born in Spain and called Gachupines; 2. The *cr̄oles* or whites of pure European parentage, born in America and regarded by the Spaniards as natives; 3. The Indians or indigenous copper-colored race; 4. The Mestizos or mixed breeds of whites and Indians; 5. The mulattoes or descendants of whites and negroes; 6. The Zambos or Chinos, the descendants of negroes and Indians; and 7. The African negroes, either free or slave. The Indians, comprising about two-fifths of the whole population, consisted of various tribes resembling each other in color, but differing greatly in language, customs and dress. Over twenty different Indian languages are known to be spoken in the Mexican territory. Next to the pure Indians, the Mestizos are the most numerous caste, and indeed few of the middling class are free from a taint of Indian blood.

From the first breaking out of the Mexican revolution, the distinctions of caste were all swallowed up in the great vital distinctions of Americans and Europeans. Many of the most distinguished characters of the revolu-

tion belonged to the mixed races; and under the system of government first established at the close of the war, all permanent residents, without distinction of color, were entitled to the rights of citizenship. General Guerrero, who in 1824 was a member of the executive board and in 1829 became president, had African blood in his veins.

With a nominal salary of about sixty thousand dollars, the viceroy of Mexico kept up all the pageantry of a court during several years, and then returned to his native country with a fortune of one or two millions of dollars, which it was notorious he had derived from a system of legalized plunder.

The sale of titles and distinctions usually obtained from the king at the recommendation of the viceroy, was a source of great profit to both. But one still greater was that of granting licenses for the introduction of any article of foreign produce, for which immense sums were paid by the great commercial houses of Mexico and Vera Cruz. So lucrative were the profits accruing from the various species of plundering carried on under the forms of law, that government situations, even without a salary, were in great request, and were found to be a sure road to affluence.

The complaints of the creoles and their attempts to bring notorious offenders to justice were equally fruitless. The various changes also which from time to time the court of Spain introduced, with the avowed object of improving the condition of the people, were unproductive of any material results.

The spirit of clanship prevailed over justice and law, and so marked was the distinction kept up between the European and the Mexican Spaniards, that the sou

who had the misfortune to be born of a creole mother was considered, even in the house of his own father, inferior to the European book-keeper or clerk. Of all the aristocratical distinctions in Mexico, those of country and color were the greatest. The word creole was used as a term of reproach, and was thought to express all the contempt that language could convey.

To render these distinctions more lasting, the great mass of the people were kept in ignorance; and they were taught to believe that they were fortunate in belonging to a monarchy superior in power and dignity to any other in the world. A printing press was conceded to Mexico as a special privilege, while the same boon was denied to some other Spanish colonies. Liberty to found a school of any kind was almost invariably refused, and the municipality of Buenos Ayres was told, in answer to a petition for the establishment of a school, in which nothing but mathematics was to be taught, that "learning did not become colonies."

The most serious cause of disquiet to the Mexican creole was the commercial restrictions imposed upon them by the Spanish government. From the first Spain reserved to herself the exclusive right of supplying the wants of her colonies. No foreigner was permitted to trade with them nor foreign vessel to enter their ports, nor could a Mexican own a ship. The colonies were forbidden to manufacture any article that the mother-country could furnish; and they were compelled to receive from Spain many necessaries with which the fertility of their own soil would have supplied them. The cultivation of the vine and the olive was prohibited, and that of many kinds of colonial produce was tolerated only under certain limitations and in such

quantities as the mother-country might wish to export.

By these regulations, those parts not enriched by mines of gold or silver were sunk in poverty in the midst of their natural riches. As the centuries passed, some of these restrictions were modified, but foreigners were rigidly excluded from the markets, and the court of Spain enforced the right to an exclusive dominion over the vast seas surrounding its American possessions.

A distinguished writer of those times gives the following description of the administration of the government in Mexico during the reign of Charles IV., in the latter part of the eighteenth century: "Every office was publicly sold, with the exception of those that were bestowed upon court minions as the reward of disgraceful services. Men destitute of talent, education and character were appointed to offices of the greatest responsibility in Church and State; and panders and parasites were forced upon America to superintend the finances and preside in the supreme courts of appeal. For the colonists there was no respite from official blood-suckers. Each succeeding swarm of adventurers in their eagerness to indemnify themselves for the money expended in purchasing their places, increased the calamities of provinces already wasted by the cupidity of their predecessors. Truly might the Hispano Americans have exclaimed, 'That which the palmer worm hath left hath the locust eaten; that which the locust hath left hath the canker worm eaten, and that which the canker worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten.'"¹*

The same writer thus forcibly describes the conditions of Mexico immediately preceding the events which led to the revolution: "The condition of Mexico

¹*Kennedy, in his history of Texas, 1841.

at the beginning of the present century was stamped with the repulsive features of an anarchical and semi-barbarous society, of which the elements were an aboriginal population, satisfied with existing in unmolested indigence; a chaos of parti-colored castes, equally passive, superstitious and ignorant; a numerous creole class, wealthy, mortified and discontented; and a compact phalanx of European officials, the pampered mameukes of the crown, who contested for and profited by every act of administrative iniquity. Public opinion was unrepresented, there were no popularly chosen authorities, no deliberative assemblies of the people, no independent publications, for the miserably meager press was but a shadow, a light-abhorring phantom evoked to stifle free discussion by suppressing its cause, and bound to do the evil bidding of a blind, disastrous, suicidal tyranny."

As early as 1502 the Spanish monarch was constituted head of the American church, and no separate spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff was allowed to interfere with the royal prerogative in which was concentrated every branch of authority and to which all classes were taught to look for honor and preferment. Under this system the security of the power of Spain depended upon the ignorance and blind idolatry of the people, whom education would have made impatient of the yoke which comparison would have rendered doubly galling.

Mental slavery and entire subjection to the will and judgment of spiritual teachers was the secret of this system of arbitrary rule by which Spain during three centuries so quietly governed Mexico. Spain was held up to the people as the queen of nations; and the

Spanish, as the only Christian language; and the people were taught that their fate was much better than that of any others of mankind.

To perpetuate this ignorance and effectually guard against foreign influences, the "Laws of the Indies" made it a capital crime for a foreigner to enter the Spanish colonies without a special license from his Catholic majesty, the king of Spain; nor were these licenses granted unless researches in natural history were the ostensible object of the applicant.

All Protestants were indiscriminately condemned as unbelievers and heretics, with whom no good Catholic could hold intercourse without contamination.

In Mexico as in Spain, the inquisition was firmly established with all of its horrid, inhuman and unchristian rites; and it discharged its duties with relentless rigor and excessive zeal.

Its tendency was not only to direct the conscience in matters of religion, but to stifle inquiry in everything that could give enlightenment upon the science of politics and government. Modern histories and political writings were rigorously proscribed in Mexico; and in 1811 the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people was denounced as a damnable heresy. Thus doctrines directly opposed to Republican principles, and based upon ignorance and prejudice, were carefully interwoven with the religion of the people.

CHAPTER IV.

1808 TO 1811

BONAPARTE AND SPAIN—JOSEPH ON THE THRONE—
SPAIN ADOPTS A CONSTITUTION — WHO OWNS
MEXICO? — HIDALGO'S CONSPIRACY — INSURREC-
TION—POLITICS—EL GRITO DE DOLORES—CAP-
TURES CITIES—EXCOMMUNICATION—BATTLES—
RETREAT—CAPTURE AND DEATH OF HIDALGO.

SOME of the iniquities of the system of government which prevailed in Mexico for three centuries have been presented. As it was not in the nature of things that such a system should prevail any longer than the power to enforce it was retained, it is not surprising to find that the subversion of the Spanish monarchy in Europe was followed by the separation of the colonies from the mother-country, and the final establishment of their independence.

Spain at this period was a divided and degraded nation. The king, Chas. IV, old and imbecile, was ruled by his queen, whose wicked passions were entirely under the influence of the base and unprincipled Godoy, who had been raised by her guilty love from a low station to the supreme conduct of affairs. This ruling junto was held in hatred and contempt by a powerful party, at the head of which was Prince Ferdinand, heir to the throne.

While Napoleon, emperor of the French, was

secretly advancing his long cherished schemes for seizing the throne of Spain, the royal family was engaged in petty conspiracies and domestic broils. Terrified at length by a popular outbreak against himself and his minister, the king abdicated the throne in favor of his son Ferdinand.

Napoleon now saw and improved his opportunity. French troops were sent across the frontier to occupy important posts, while Murat, with a large army, took possession of the capital. In the mean time Chas. IV, regretting the steps he had taken, and asserting that his abdication had been the result of fear and compulsion, appealed to Napoleon and invoked his assistance in restoring him to the throne. Napoleon enticed the whole royal family to Bayonne, and compelled both father and son to renounce the throne; and a few days later, Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, was proclaimed king of Spain.

Although the schemes of Napoleon were assisted by a party among the Spaniards themselves, yet the spirit of the nation generally was roused by the usurpation; and first a central junta, and then a regency, was established, which was declared to be the only legitimate source of power during the captivity of the sovereign.

A democratic constitution and the sovereignty of the people were now substituted for the royal prerogative and the divine right of kings, and both the form and the spirit of the Spanish government were essentially changed.

These events created a powerful impression upon the generally ignorant population of Mexico, where until then, Spain had been regarded as the mother of

kingdoms, on whose dominions the sun never set, and whose arms were the terror of the world.

As it had ever been an established principle that the Spanish possessions of America were vested in the crown and not in the State, the king was the only tie that connected the colonies with the mother country; and they could see no justice in the claim by which their obedience was demanded to a government which the Spanish people had adopted in the absence of their monarch. As Spain itself was over-run and occupied by the arms of France, the people concluded that the government was absolutely destroyed.

So, when tidings of the dethronement of the Spanish monarch in 1808, and the occupation of the capital by a French army, reached Mexico, the viceroy solicited the support of the people, and declared his determination to preserve to the last his fidelity to his and their sovereign. The people, flattered by the importance so unexpectedly conceded to them, gladly expressed their devoted loyalty and their resolve to support the authority of the viceroy. A very kind feeling immediately grew up between the government and the creoles; and as a further measure to conciliate the latter, it was proposed that a national assembly should be called, to be composed of deputies from the provinces, elected by the people.

This measure, however, was violently opposed by the European Spaniards, as being an infraction of their rights and a violation of the prerogatives of the crown. Finding that the viceroy was determined to admit the creoles to a large share in the government, the court of the *audiencia*, the highest judicial tribunal of Mexico, composed entirely of Europeans, seized the viceroy, whom they imprisoned with his principal adherents.

The Europeans both in the capital and in the interior then formed *patriotic* associations for the defense of what they termed their rights, and armed themselves against the creoles. Although the latter, unused to arms, submitted for the moment, yet their spirits were aroused, and the subject of controversy became one, not between their sovereign and themselves as subjects, but between themselves and the comparatively small number of European Spaniards, as to which should possess the right of administering the government during the captivity of the king.

The violence and arrogance of the *audiencia* increased among the creoles their feelings of hostility to the Europeans, a general impatience to shake off the yoke of foreign control was manifested throughout the entire country, and clubs were formed, which, while nominally of a literary character, were really political in their nature and plans. These clubs had an organization and maintained correspondence with each other, with the view to future co-operation in the work of revolution.

The best organized of these societies had headquarters at Dolores, a little town about 190 miles northwest from the capital, where the parish priest, Manuel Hidalgo, officiated and was president of the club. This priest was born on the 8th of May, 1752; and, though of poor and humble parentage, he was educated for the ecclesiastical profession in a school at Valladolid.

In 1779, he took holy orders at the capital, and held various livings; and at the death of his brother, also a priest, he succeeded him as *Cura* at Dolores. His learning and good qualities gained for him great popularity and influence wherever he was known. To

him has been given the title of *THE FATHER OF MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE*.

After many years of reflection upon the wrongs perpetrated upon the Mexican people by the viceroys and other Europeans who were officers of the government, and also upon the proper measure for their relief and redress, he resolved to take steps toward organizing a government by Mexicans, of Mexicans and for Mexicans. He took into his confidence three captains of the Mexican army named Allende, Aldamas and Arias, all of whom were of mixed blood; and also two attorneys named Altamarino and Laso. / After long deliberation, they adopted a plan of action, which was, to make prisoners of all public officers, all Europeans, and of all persons of importance who were in any manner connected with the government or in sympathy with it.

Having so done, they were to proclaim Mexico independent of Spain; to form a government, to be composed of a senate and house of representatives from the people of the provinces; and to establish this government in the interest and in the name of Ferdinand VII as sovereign. They were to prepare for the successful inauguration of this plan by enlisting confederates and co-operative companies in some of the principal cities of the country; and to have all ready for consummation by the 8th of December, 1810, when the great annual fair for the valley of the Lerma took place at San Juan de los Lagos, in the state of Jalisco, when the great number of people attending would enable them to collect a sufficient force without exciting suspicion.

Hidalgo, as before stated, was the officiating priest at Dolores; and the officers were on duty at San Miguel and elsewhere in some of the cities of the valley of the

Lerma, which is the longest river in Mexico, and has in its tributary valleys some of the most important cities and centers of population in the whole country. One of the features of the plan proposed was to confiscate the property of the captured victims and then to send them back to Spain.

It was in 1809 that the promoters of this revolution first commenced their work of organization, though Hidalgo, the leader, had long been indulging in emotions of hostility and sympathy, while considering the wrongs perpetrated upon and endured by the creoles, mestizos and Indians at the hands of the viceroys and Spaniards.

Allende and Aldama visited some of the cities of the country in pursuance of the plan; and all worked well, until a traitor disclosed the scheme, when immediately arrests were made in Valladolid and Queretaro. The information of the arrests and the disclosures came to Hidalgo in the night of September 15, 1810, while he was in bed. Hastily rising, he proceeded, with the assistance of nine comrades, one of them being his lieutenant Allende, to liberate and arm the prisoners, mostly political, in the Dolores jail, and to arrest and imprison all the Spaniards in the city.

By this time it was morning, and being Sunday, he had the bells of his church rung for mass at an unusually early hour. After officiating for the last time at that place in this religious duty, he informed the gathered worshippers of the situation of affairs, and assured them that under the guidance of divine providence a new era had dawned upon the country. He stated that the French emperor, Napoleon, had taken possession of their king and of the throne of Spain, had desecrated their sacred places and threatened to overthrow

their holy religion; and that the Spaniards, after having despoiled their ancestors and themselves for three hundred years, were now consummating their infamy by selling them out to the French infidels.

He told them that the time for action on their part had now come. When he asked, "Will you be slaves of Napoleon or will you as patriots defend your religion, your hearths and your rights?" there was a unanimous cry, "We will defend to the utmost! Long live religion, long live our most holy mother of Guadalupe! Long live America! Death to bad government, and death to the Gachupines!" This was *El grito de Dolores*, "the cry of Dolores," and it became the watchword of the revolution.

So it was that the poor and oppressed of this little Indian town proclaimed the independence of a great nation. From a neighboring church Hidalgo took a banner containing a picture of the virgin of Guadalupe (the same banner now to be seen in the National Museum) and, fixing it upon a lance, adopted it as the flag of his army.

To the inspiration of religious zeal Hidalgo added the more enthusing hope of gain. He divided out to his mob the property of the captured Spaniards, and assured them of a continuance of the "spoils system" as long as they remained soldiers of the army.

In after days, when Hidalgo was remonstrated with regarding the taking and malicious destruction of property, he declared that the license was necessary as a measure to debilitate the enemy and attract proselytes to the revolution; and that he had good reasons in extenuation of his conduct:—In the first place, the Indians had been unjustly deprived of their lands at the time of

the conquest. The Castillians had thus committed robbery when they dispossessed the original owners. They had also despoiled the Indians of all their rights and goods, and had reduced them to slavery. The riches which the Spaniards now had in their possession, of right belonged to the descendents of the aborigines, who were still the equitable owners of the lands. It was well known that in originally taking their lands and goods, greater violence had been practiced and inflicted. He also said, in the second place, that as he had no funds with which he could pay and support his troops, it was necessary to take from the enemy the required amount.

But Hidalgo's impromptu army was without arms. In this emergency the lance, bow and arrow, machete, sling, club and garrote were used as substitutes for fire-arms. With a force of four thousand men, Hidalgo and Allende commenced, on Sunday, their march to revolutionize the country, free it from foreigners and foreign control, and to form a new government which, strangely enough, was still to be in the name of the Spanish monarch, Ferdinand VII.

Their first objective point was San Miguel le Grande, now called San Miguel Allende, in honor of Hidalgo's military associate. This place offered no resistance, but all of the Spanish residents lost their liberty and property. The mob army had increased to many thousands; and, with liberty of action and military rights hitherto unknown, they literally revelled. With the consent of Allende and the garrison of that place, they took all of the arms at the barracks. They also took of goods and property as suited their tastes and wishes; and with free access to pulque and other liquors, they ran riot; and order was restored only when Allende,

sword in hand, traversed the mob and forced them to desist. Hidalgo possessed himself of all the public funds and relieved the Spaniards and other "offensive partisans" of their cash.

On the 18th of September he resumed his march and passed down the north branch of the Lerma, taking cities, citizens and property on the announced principles of his campaign.

At Celaya his forces amounted to 50,000 men, and there an organization was had. Hidalgo proclaimed himself captain general of America and Allende lieutenant general. The troops were organized into the semblance of an army by companies, regiments, brigades and divisions, as well as could be effected with the material of which it was composed. Celaya is about sixty miles from Dolores and on the direct road to the City of Mexico.

But with an army of 50,000 spoils-enthused, religion-inspired, superstitious and vengeful Mexican Indians, so rich a booty as the city of Guanajuato was not to be overlooked; and so the captain general marched on the morning of September 23d for that city, which was as far north as Dolores and about twenty-five miles west of the same. The march of some eighty miles was accomplished by the 27th, and on the 28th Hidalgo demanded a surrender with the threat to put all to the knife if resistance was made.

Guanajuato was a very rich city of 80,000 people; 9,000 of them contributed to the wealth of the same as operatives in the 1,800 mines, 116 mills and 366 factories. Knowing of Hidalgo's approach and intentions, the citizens who were subject to his animosity joined with a small garrison in preparing for defense. Such

of the inhabitants as could boast of neither wealth, Spanish blood nor official position, left the city and took seats upon the ground on the surrounding hills to view the conflict with more calmness and indifference than if it was to be a bull fight; but when the city was captured they joined in the sack and secured spoils.

Resistance having been made and the city taken, the threats of Hidalgo were realized by the unfortunate victims to the utmost. It is left to the imagination to supply the incapacity of speech to do justice in the way of description. With 50,000 fanatics in full control of the rich spoils of the wealthy city, their numbers augmented by the multitudes of residents, in full sympathy, to wreak vengeance upon the hated Spaniards, such dreadful scenes were presented as to cause the controlling demon of destruction to be fully satisfied. Blood was shed in pure hatred of life, property was taken and destroyed from pure malice; and only when nothing remained to tempt cupidity or inspire vicious activity, was the semblance of order restored, and then it was largely the quiet and satiety of inebriation.

Hidalgo, being educated, refined, and moreover a member of the sacerdotal order in the Roman Catholic church, had his sensibilities greatly disturbed by the disorder consequent on the sack of the city, and made sincere efforts to control his army. But the sum of \$5,000,000 added to his treasury by their valor and assistance gave evidence that in the matter of spoils, the general and his army was a unit in motive and mode of procedure.

Hidalgo remained at Guanajuato, organizing and equipping his army and replenishing his treasury, until the 10th of October, when he marched upon Valladolid,

his numbers having been augmented to 60,000 men. Valladolid surrendered without resistance, but the Spaniards had fled to the capital. Here Hidalgo added several well organized and armed companies of militia to his army, as well as a vast multitude of spoils-thirsty Indians. But a still more valuable acquisition was the warlike Priest Morelos, who afterwards became one of the most distinguished generals of the revolution.

When Hidalgo commenced his operations, the Spanish General Calleja was in command at San Luis Potosi, some eighty miles north of Dolores. He promptly organized a force with which to contend with the revolt, but was misled as to the plans and movements of Hidalgo. So the "fighting parson" was permitted to march, slay and plunder without much resistance. Still Hidalgo knew of the general and his army, and also knew that if he wished to succeed he must act promptly. Therefore he marched from Valladolid—now called Morelia—toward the City of Mexico, on the 20th of October. On the way he captured Toluca, within twenty-five miles of the capital.

In the meantime Venegas, the viceroy, had collected about 7,000 men in and near the City of Mexico for its defense. A small corps, under the command of Truzillo, assisted by Iturbide, then a lieutenant in the Spanish service, having advanced to Las Cruces, about twelve miles from the city, was met by Hidalgo with his whole force, then numbering nearly 100,000 men.

A battle took place which lasted from 8 o'clock in the forenoon to 5 o'clock in the evening, when the loyalists were put to flight. Although the loss of Hidalgo had been great, he had gained a great victory, and the City of Mexico was at his feet. Allende and

others of the army urged an immediate march for the prize, but for some unaccountable reason, he vacillated from his former vigorous policy, and after remaining for three days in camp on the field of battle, where the city was almost if not really in view, he ordered a retiring move and started back to the north.

His soldiers, who had hoped for the rich spoils to be had in the sack of the city, were greatly disappointed at their loss. Allende and Aldama were disgusted at the failure to secure the grand political results which the occupancy of the city would have made possible. On the retreat to the north many desertions took place, and the subsequent career of Hidalgo was a series of failures and disasters.

On the 7th of November he unexpectedly met the army of Calleja, who was coming from the north in search of the insurgents. The meeting was on the plains of Aculco, and Hidalgo lost ten thousand men in the battle and slaughter which followed. He and most of his officers escaped, and with part of his army fled to Celaya, where he reorganized his defeated forces and added recruits, who either not knowing of or disregarding his defeat, still flocked to his standard, so that on the 15th of November he marched for Guadalajara. Here he was received with all the demonstrations of joy which could be awarded to victors and friends.

It may be stated that when the revolutionary movements became known, the government offered large rewards for the heads of Hidalgo, Allende and Aldama, while the Church hurled anathemas at them and excommunicated the three. Hidalgo was also called to appear before the inquisition, to answer to the charge of heresy and apostacy; and from the pulpit he was de-

nounced as a monster of wickedness. The bishops and other clergy published addresses and exhortations in which they represented him in the most dark and despicable colors. The archbishop of Mexico issued edicts and denunciations against him and his followers.

These acts of opposition on the part of the Church were not fruitless in their effects on the citizens from whom Hidalgo had and expected recruits; and, knowing that unchallenged or neglected on his part, his influence and hopes would be lost and disappointed, he took occasion while at Guadalajara to pay his respects to the edicts and the commands to appear before the inquisition. He therefore published a circular in which he solemnly declared that he never had apostatized from the holy faith of the Catholic church, and that he reprobated the charge of heresy.

He claimed that in breaking the chains which held the people in oppression he had not performed any bad or censurable act. He further in said circular proclaimed the emancipation of all slaves, and decreed death to all who disobeyed his mandate. He exempted people of all classes from payment of taxes, and promised a congress which should enact just and beneficent laws for all people alike.

He had an altar placed in the door of the cathedral and, robed in sacerdotal vestments, assisted by the clergy of the place, solemnized mass and closed with the *Te Deum*. By these acts Hidalgo fully challenged both Church and State.

He also formally organized a provisional government and appointed many of the officers; and, notwithstanding his subsequent personal failures and death, his following was such that most of the states in the north,

and some in the center and south, were for a time lost to the control of the viceroy.

His courageous acts did not fail to secure recruits, as in him and his success the people saw a new government erected in their behalf, while with his failure they would suffer deeper degradation and greater impositions because of their fellowship with him and their support of the revolution. Again he raised an army of 100,000 men and gave battle at the bridge of Calderon, a short distance from Guadalajara, on the 17th of January, 1811.

In this battle Hidalgo was defeated with great loss and his army was dispersed. He himself, with other officers, escaped, and by various roads retreated to the north and rendezvoused at Zacatecas. But in the rout of his forces the treasure boxes, containing \$800,000, were saved.

To return to the defeat of Hidalgo at Aculco, it may be stated that Allende then separated from the main army with a detachment to operate alone. He moved back towards Guanajuato, but en route encountered a part of the royalist forces, by whom he was defeated. After this he moved rapidly to the city and slaughtered many Spaniards who had escaped the previous massacre or had located there afterwards. Having so done, he moved to the north and joined Hidalgo at Zacatecas.

Calleja, soon after Allende's departure, entered the city of Guanajuato, where he avenged the royal cause for the excesses which the insurgent populace had previously committed against the Europeans. To avoid the waste of powder and ball, it is said that he cut the throats of his victims or used the gallows. But an act of clemency may be mentioned in his favor—he brought

the accused before a judge for trial. But the processes were brief and few accused escaped. Still, after conviction, they were passed to the priest, who hastily performed the offices of the holy Church for the benefit of their immortal souls, an act of religious sympathy which the Priest Hidalgo altogether neglected as to his victims.

As an illustration of the manner in which the royalist troops controlled the country, it is stated that on November 16, 1810, General Cruz, loyalist, attacked the village of Huichapan, where one of the insurgents chiefs, named Villagran, had made rendezvous and interrupted commerce and travel between Queretaro and the capital. The chief took refuge in the hills and woods, when Cruz gathered all of the people of the town together, took all weapons and all implements of husbandry, and even the scissors of the women, and burned them and all of the houses to ashes, and then put all of the people to the knife.

From Zacatecas, Hidalgo with his forces, reduced to about 4,000 men, marched to Saltillo. There, considering the matter of future action and preparing to continue the contest for liberty from Spanish rule, it was decided that Hidalgo and his lieutenants should go to the United States, there to purchase arms and secure aid. They hoped that they would thereby soon be able to take the field with an army of sufficient numbers and suitable arms to meet successfully the heretofore better organized and armed royal forces.

Hidalgo had previously appointed Aldama as minister to the United States, where he was to represent the new government and provide for aid. Aldama, however, was captured, and fell into the hands of the

enemy, who executed him at Monclove. From some of his attendants they learned of Hidalgo's plans, and thereby they were enabled to place an ambuscade on the road and to effect his capture, together with his officers, Allende and Jiminez, and also the treasure.

In chains and with inhuman treatment the prisoners were taken to Chihuahua. There on trial they were all condemned to death. Allende and Jiminez with two others were shot on the 26th of May, but as Hidalgo was a priest, he was turned over to the ecclesiastical tribunal to be dealt with under the canonical laws.

He suffered great humiliation in the processes of penance for more than two months, and then was taken to execution early on the morning of July 31, 1811. His clerical robes were taken from him, and in the garb of a common prisoner and loaded with chains, he was led to the place of execution. He remained firm, calm and courageous to the end, and placed his manacled hand over his heart to indicate the spot at which the soldiers should aim. They were bad marksmen; for, though the balls cut through his hand at the first, it yet required three discharges to dispatch him, and the last was with the muzzle of the gun almost touching his body.

As an incident in the life of Hidalgo, which to some extent shows his disposition and patriotism, it is stated that while at Saltillo he received an exemplar, or printed copy of an offer of amnesty from the Spanish cortes, made to all insurgents who should lay down their arms and return to their allegiance with assurances of pardon. This was accompanied with an exhortation from General Cruz that he should avail himself of the royal offer and thus put an end to the shedding of blood.

Hidalgo replied that "He had no power to accept the offer. First, that he had no confidence in the good faith of the promises of the royalists; second, that he had no right to compromise or abandon the holy cause of liberty. Perhaps the cause of liberty might be gained by his death. What was life or death in comparison



HIDALGO.

with liberty? The end of his life could not be very distant, but the liberty which he expected to secure for his country would never die. So then, keep silent and fight General Cruz. To pardon is the right of God only, and pardon is for delinquents and not for a defender of his country."*

*Historia de Mexico.

The heads of Hidalgo, Allende, Aldama and Jiminez were cut off, and enclosed in iron cages were hung up at the four corners of the Castle Granadites, in Guanajuato. But in 1823, when the cause for which they had planned, fought and died had triumphed, they with their bodies were reverently placed in the great cathedral in Mexico, where they now rest in honor among the tombs of former viceroys and subsequent presidents.

Inasmuch as the cause for which they died eventually triumphed, they are entitled to have their names enrolled among those of famous patriots and martyrs of the world.

The name of Hidalgo, the parish priest, anathematized, deposed and excommunicated by the ecclesiastical authorities and executed by the government as he was, will live in the esteem and affections of all lovers of liberty and haters of oppression, while history is written and patriotism survives among men.

With the death of the leaders of the revolution the royalists naturally supposed that the end had come. But they found their mistake, for the *Grita de Dolores*, once sounded, continued to flow, echo and resound in all parts of the country.

It was the first cheering note of sympathy which the Indians had heard for three centuries, and it fell upon their ears with joy and inspired their hearts with hope and patriotic resolution. It was indeed a new era, as declared by Hidalgo on that never to be forgotten Sunday morning, the 16th of September, 1810.

CHAPTER V.

1811 TO 1821.

HIDALGO'S SUCCESSORS—BATTLES—VICTORIES—DEFEATS—CONGRESS—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—CAPTURE AND DEATH OF MORELOS—INQUISITION—LAST AUTO DE FE—DEFEAT—CAPTURE AND DEATH OF REVOLUTIONISTS—OVERTHROW OF REVOLUTION.

ON THE fall of Hidalgo, Ramon Rayon, a lawyer whom Hidalgo had appointed secretary of state of the new government while at Guadalajara, assumed command of the remaining revolutionists at Saltillo and retreated with them to Zacatecas; but his authority was acknowledged by few.

Though insurgent forces were organized throughout all of the central and northern provinces, yet there was no concerted action among their commanders. This was to be expected in view of the difficulty of communicating with each other, the roads being few and the mails forbidden to them, and of the activity of the royalist government and commanders, who by the exercise of great vigilance over the country, and violence upon prisoners and couriers, secured and maintained control over all the principal cities.

In the meantime Morelos, the priest, a former student of Hidalgo, who had joined the revolutionists at Valladolid, had not been idle. In October, before he

marched upon the capital, Hidalgo had sent him to operate in the South. There he developed considerable strength and marched toward Acapulco. In a battle near that city he, with an inferior army poorly equipped, defeated a large number of royalists, whereby he gained possession of eight hundred muskets, five pieces of artillery, a quantity of ammunition and a considerable sum of money.

Seven hundred prisoners were taken, all of whom were treated with the greatest humanity. This success laid the foundation of all the after triumphs of Morelos, and from this time he made rapid and astonishing progress. By a series of victories, which were never taruished by cruelties during the year 1811, he overcame several detachments sent against him by the viceroy; and in February, 1812, he advanced into the valley of Mexico.

The alarm created by this movement drew upon him the blood-thirsty General Calleja, who, with the army with which he had defeated Hidalgo and his hosts at Aculco and at the Bridge of Calderon, marched against this most formidable and skillful of all the insurgent commanders.

Morelos, having taken and fortified Cuautla as a base of action, met Calleja on the plains in which the town was situated, and defeated him, having inflicted the loss of five hundred men, who were left dead upon the field. But the blood of the Spanish general was raised to excessive heat at being defeated by this Mestizo chief with his badly armed Mexicans, and he advanced again to the conflict; but, instead of giving battle in the field, he contented himself with laying siege.

Morelos made many assaults upon the besiegers with success. But famine reduced his forces, and want of food and water caused great distress. So great was the scarcity that a cat sold for six dollars, a lizzard for two, a rat for one. Worms, waterbugs and insects were consumed for food, and old hides and scraps of leather were added to the meat food of the besieged soldiers and citizens.

The soldiers endured all this with fortitude and uncomplaining resignation; and as all talk of surrender was to be met with death; it was determined when hope of re-enforcements and supplies had been abandoned that the place should be evacuated. This was effected with such skill that the enemy did not know of it until the rear guard was out of the walls. Then Calleja attacked and inflicted some damage.

During this siege Victoria and Bravo, both young men, first distinguished themselves. At the same time Guerrero, in the successful defense of a neighboring town, began his long, perilous and distinguished career.

While these events were transpiring Rayon had conceived the idea of organizing the military movements into a system of attack, and at the same time, and to further that plan, to establish a national junta or representative assembly for the purpose of uniting the people in a more general coalition against the Spanish power. In accordance with these views a central government, composed of five members, elected from the people of the districts, was installed in the town of Zitacuaro on the 10th of September, 1811.

This body acknowledged the authority of King Ferdinand, published their edicts in his name, and evinced a liberal and enlightened spirit in all its proceed-

ings; but the flattering hopes excited by it among the creoles were never realized. The good intentions and wisdom of the junta were shown by an able manifesto drawn up by General Cos, one of its members, and transmitted to the viceroy. This paper was burned in the great square of the city by the public executioner; but, regardless of the contempt with which it was treated, it produced great effect upon the public mind, enforced as it was by the successes of Morelos in the field during the years of 1810-11-12.

During the summer of the last named year the troops of Morelos were almost uniformly successful in their numerous encounters with forces of the viceroy.

In August, after an engagement at Palmar that lasted three days, the village to which the Spaniards had retired was stormed by General Bravo, and three hundred prisoners were taken. These were all offered to the viceroy in exchange for the father of Bravo, then a prisoner at the capital and under sentence of death as a revolutionist; but the offer was rejected, and Bravo was immediately executed. The noble-hearted son, General Bravo, who was afterward honored with many high and important offices in the republic, instead of revenging himself by the massacre of his prisoners, immediately set them at liberty, wishing, as he said, "to put it out of his power to avenge on them the death of his father, lest in the first moments of grief the temptation should prove irresistible."

In November, Oaxaca was captured by storm, although defended by a strong royalist garrison; and in August of 1813, the strongly fortified city of Acapulco surrendered, after a siege of six months.

In the meantime a national congress, composed of

the original junta and deputies elected by the neighboring provinces, assembled at the town of Chilpancingo, about 130 miles south of the capital, on the 13th day of September, 1813, and on the 13th of November proclaimed the independence of Mexico. This measure produced little impression upon the country, as from that time the fortunes of Morelos, the founder and protector of the congress, began to decline.

Morelos had long entertained a desire to be possessed of Valladolid, his native city, and there to establish a center of operations. To accomplish this he left Chilpancingo in November, with a force of seven thousand men, and marched upon that city, where he found a formidable force under Iturbide prepared to oppose him.

With his usual impetuosity Morelos made the attack, but was repulsed with loss. On the following day Iturbide made a counter-attack while the revolutionists were holding a review on the adjoining plain. At the same time a large reinforcing insurgent force, mistaking their friends and allies, made a furious attack on their flanks. Iturbide taking advantage of their error, succeeded in putting the whole army of the insurgents to flight, with the loss of all their artillery. On the 6th of January following Morelos was again attacked and defeated by Iturbide.

In the dispersion which followed Matamoras, a fellow priest and insurgent-general in Morelos' army was taken prisoner; and although Morelos offered a number of Spanish prisoners in exchange for him, yet the viceroy rejected the offer, and ordered him shot. The insurgents, by means of reprisal, immediately put all of their prisoners to death.

Morelos never recovered from the losses which he sustained at Valladolid. Although he displayed as much resolution and energy as before, yet he lost action after action. All his strong posts were taken, the congress at Chilpancingo was broken up, and several of his best generals died on the field of battle or perished upon the scaffold.

In November of 1815, while convoying a small party of the deputies of congress to a place of safety, he was attacked by a large force of royalist troops. Ordering General Bravo to continue the march with the main body as an escort to the congress, and remarking that his life was of little consequence, so that the congress could be saved; he endeavored with only fifty men to check the advance of the Spaniards. He gained the desired time, and with only one living survivor was taken prisoner. Spanish barbarity prompted to the most severe and inhuman treatment. He was stripped of his clothing and taken in chains to a Spanish garrison. He suffered abuse and great humiliation on his way to the City of Mexico.

His case was brought before the inquisition, which, having been suspended in June, 1813, was re-established in January, 1814, to combat the spread of "revolutionary ideas" in Mexico.

This *auto de fe* was held on the 26th of November, 1815. He was found guilty of heresy, of profaning the sacraments, of disregarding his religious obligations, of having despised totally all ecclesiastical authority, and of having lived immorally and in expiation, therefor, he was made to put on the dress of a penitent, and in the presence of an immense audience abjure his heresies with religious exercises. The ceremony of reconcilia-

tion was held with the penitent upon his knees, reciting the proper ceremonial words, and enduring the proper ceremonial flogging. The torment of burning alive, practiced in earlier times by the alleged only and true church of the pure and inoffensive Christ, had been abolished.

This was the last *auto de fe* held, as the inquisition had no further opportunity to exercise its power in Mexico. It was suppressed in Spain, and became inoperative in Mexico May 31, 1820, a short time before the overthrow of the Spanish dominion.

Having been punished by the Church for spiritual delinquencies and offenses, Morelos was by decree of the state taken to execution on the morning of December 22, 1815, at San Christobal Ecatepec, where in former days the viceroys were received. Here upon his knees he uttered the following simple prayer, "Lord, if I have done well thou knowest it; but if ill, to thy infinite mercy I commend my soul." Then he gave the signal, and a ball traversed the heart of "the servant of the nation."

The portrait of Morelos adorns the national galleries, and it is also found in many private collections in the houses of patriotic citizens of Mexico, and his statue is erected in many public places. His memory is cherished as one of the bravest, purest and most successful patriots who upheld and suffered martyrdom for reform in political and spiritual methods in Mexico.

Though disowned, condemned and punished by the Church, he was a religious enthusiast, always confessing himself before and after battle, and maintaining his religious life in field and camp.

After the capture of Morelos the cause of the revolu-

tion languished; for though it was supported in many parts of the country by leaders of courage and talent, yet no one possessed sufficient influence to combine the operations of the whole and prevent the jarring interests of the different leaders from discord.

The principal insurgent leaders were Teran, Guerrero, Rayon, Torres, Bravo and Victoria.

Teran remained mostly in the province of Puebla, where, after having disbanded congress, which had taken refuge in his jurisdiction, he for some time carried on a desultory warfare in which he had varying success, though straitened greatly for want of arms. He was finally compelled to surrender, on the 21st of January, 1817. His life having been secured by the terms of capitulation, he lived in obscurity in Puebla until the breaking out of the second revolution in 1821.

Guerrero occupied the western coast, where he maintained the revolutionary cause in the mountainous districts until 1821, when he joined Iturbide.

Rayon commanded in the northern part of Valladolid. His principal stronghold was besieged by Iturbide in January, 1815, and an attack on his works was repelled on the 4th of March following. But finally, during his absence, the fortress surrendered in 1817; and soon after Rayon himself, deserted by all of his adherents, was taken prisoner and was confined in the capital until the change of sentiment in 1821.

The Padre Torres, vindictive, sanguinary and treacherous by nature, had established a sort of half-priestly, half-military despotism in the Baxio, a very fertile region taking in parts of the states of Queretaro, Michoacan, Guanajuato and Guadalajara, the whole of which he had parcelled out among his military sub-

alterns, men mostly without principle or virtue. From his fortress on the top of the mountain Los Remedios, he was the scourge of the country round, devastating the most fertile portion of the Mexican territory, and sparing none, whether Spaniard or creole, who had the misfortune to offend him. Yet, under the auspices of this man existed for the time the only shadow of a government that was kept up by the revolutionists. It was called the junta of Jauaxiila, but it possessed little authority beyond his immediate adherents.

Bravo was a wanderer in different parts of the country, opposed by superior royalist forces until December, 1817, when he was taken prisoner and sent to the capital.

Victoria, at the head of about 2,000 men, occupied the important province of Vera Cruz, where he was a constant source of uneasiness to the viceroy, who at length formed a plan of establishing a chain of fortified posts sufficiently strong to command the communication between Vera Cruz and the capital and restrain the incursions of the insurgents.

During a struggle of two years against all the powers of the viceroy and several thousand regular troops sent out from Spain to quell this last and most formidable of the insurgent chiefs, Victoria was gradually driven from his strongholds. Most of his old soldiers fell; the zeal of the people in the cause of the revolution abated; the last remnant of his followers deserted him when, unsubdued in spirit, he was left actually alone. Resolved not to yield on any terms to the Spaniards, he refused the rank and rewards which the viceroy offered him as the price of his submission; and, unaccompanied by a single attendant, sought an

asylum in the mountains and disappeared from view.

During a few weeks he was supplied with provisions by the Indians, who knew and respected him; but the viceroy, fearing that he would again emerge from his retreat, sent out a thousand men to hunt him down. Every village that had harbored him was burned without mercy, and the Indians were struck with such terror by this merciless punishment, that they either fled at his appearance or closed their doors against him. For upwards of six months he was pursued like a wild beast, often surrounded, and on numerous occasions barely escaping with his life. At length it was announced that his dead body had been found, and the search was discontinued.

But the trials of Victoria did not end here. At one time he was attacked by a fever and remained eleven days at the mouth of a cavern, stretched on the ground, without food, expecting the hour of death. The vultures hovered around in expectation of their prey. One approached to feast on his half-closed eyes. He seized it by the neck and killed it. Nourished by its warm blood he had strength to crawl to water and slake his parching thirst. With torn clothes and lacerated body he was reduced to a skeleton. In summer he subsisted on roots, fruits and berries, and in winter on whatever he could obtain. For thirty months he neither saw a human being nor tasted bread.

Thus nearly three years passed from the time of his exile in 1818. The last who had lingered with him were two faithful Indians. As he was about to separate from them they asked where he wished them to look for him if any change in the politics of the country should take place. Pointing in reply to a mountain at some

distance, particularly rugged and covered with forests, he told them that on that mountain perhaps they might find his bones.

The Indians kept this in mind, and as soon as the first news of the revolution of 1821 came to them they set out in quest of Victoria. After six weeks of searching they found footprints of a white man and watched around for some days, until their stock of provisions was exhausted, when suspending two corncakes on a tree, believing that Victoria would pass, and seeing them would know that friends were seeking him, they returned to their homes for more food, intending to return.

Their plan succeeded, for Victoria came to the place two days afterwards and found the cakes which, fortunately, the birds had not devoured. He had been four days without food, and he ate the cakes before the cravings of his appetite would permit him to reflect upon the singularity of finding them in that solitary spot, where he had never seen the trace of a human being. Not knowing whether they had been left there by friend or foe, but confident that whoever had left them intended to return, he concealed himself near the place in order to watch for his unknown visitor.

One of the Indians soon returned and Victoria, recognizing him, started from his concealment to welcome his faithful follower who, terrified at seeing a man haggard, emaciated and clothed only with an old cotton wrapper, advancing upon him from the bushes with a sword in his hand, took to flight; and it was only on hearing his name repeatedly called that he recovered his composure sufficiently to recognize his old general. He was deeply affected at the state in which he found

him and conducted him instantly to his village, where the long lost Victoria was received with the greatest joy and enthusiasm.

The report of his reappearance spread rapidly through the province, where it was not credited at first, so firmly was every one persuaded of his death; but when it was known that Guadalupe Victoria was indeed living, all the old insurgents rallied round him.

A further account of this patriot will be found in connection with later events in Mexican history, in which he was destined to be a prominent actor, as well as a high and influential officer and statesman.

About the time of the dispersal of the principal insurgent forces in 1817, and when the revolutionary spirit was on the decline, an unfortunate and unwise, but very daring attempt was made by Don Xavier Mina to establish the independence of Mexico on a constitutional basis and secure the liberty of Mexico without a separation from Spain. This visionary plan failed to awaken enthusiasm among the people, and chiefly claims attention from the military movements and achievements connected therewith.

Mina was a young Spaniard who had been engaged in guerrilla warfare in Spain, operating first against the French who had displaced the royal family from the Spanish throne, and then against the forces of Ferdinand VII. who, on attaining the throne by the consent of Napoleon and the aid of the English troops, set aside the constitution which had been constructed by the Cortes and adopted in 1812. Mina, being defeated in Spain, determined to transfer the war against Ferdinand to the soil of Mexico.

After securing munitions of war in London and re-

cruits in the United States, he landed at Soto la Marina, about 125 miles north of Tampico. Here he constructed a fort as a basis of operations, and after leaving a garrison moved with the remainder of his troops rapidly toward the Baxio, where Torres was located. On the way he fought superior numbers of the enemy in many battles and with varying results, and finally reached Guanajuato, where his forces failed him by an unusual display of fear. He attempted retreat, but was captured; and in view of Torres, in his stronghold on the hill Los Remedios, was shot.

After his death dissensions broke out among the remaining insurgents, and every town and fortress fell into the hands of the royalists. Torres was killed by one of his own captains. Guerrero with a small force was on the western coast, cut off from all communication with the interior; and Victoria, as has been related, had sought refuge in the mountains.

In 1819 the revolutionary cause was at its lowest ebb, and it was no idle boast when the viceroy declared, in a dispatch transmitted to the government at Madrid, that he would answer for the safety of Mexico without an additional soldier.

Thus ended the first revolution in Mexico with the total dispersion and defeat of the Independent party, after a struggle of nine years from the first outbreak at Dolores. In the distractions of the war which made enemies of former friends, the most wanton cruelties were often committed by both armies. Hidalgo injured and disgraced the cause which he led by appealing to the worst passions of his Indian forces, whose ferocity appeared the more extraordinary after having lain dormant so many years. But the Spaniards were not

backward in retaliating upon their enemies, and Calleja, the Spanish commander, eclipsed Hidalgo as much in the details of cold-blooded massacre as in the military art. Morelos was no less generous than brave, and with his fall terminated the most brilliant period of the revolution.

The viceroy, Apodaca, who succeeded Calleja, adopted a conciliatory policy and judiciously distributed pardons from the king, whereby he reduced the insurgents to an insignificant number.

The revolution was from the first opposed by the higher orders of the clergy, who were by an encyclical letter from the vatican directed to oppose all attempts to secure the separation of Mexico from Spain. The most opulent creoles, whose business and religion were intimately connected with those of Spain and whom the viceroy conciliated, gave the government its principal support during the war.

But though the country was exhausted by the ravages of war, and though open hostilities were quelled, subsequent events showed that the spirit of independence was daily gaining ground and that Spain had entirely lost all those moral influences by which she had so long governed her colonies in the New World.

CHAPTER VI.

1821 TO 1823.

BONAPARTE BENEFITS MEXICO—CHURCH CONSPIRACY
—ITURBIDE SELECTED—GUERRERO JOINS CON-
SPIRACY—PLAN OF IGUALA—TREATY OF CORDOBA
—MEXICO INDEPENDENT OF SPAIN—REGENCY—
—ITURBIDE EMPEROR — DISSENSIONS—REVOLU-
TION—ABDICATION—EXILE—RETURN—DEATH AS
AN OUTLAW.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE is entitled to much credit for the independence of Mexico. He made open war upon the Roman Catholic tenet of the divine right of kings. He applied this hostility to Spain, where he dethroned Charles IV. and his son, Ferdinand VII. In their stead he enthroned his brother Joseph as the king of Spain. In these acts he not only gratified his personal ambition, but he also, as if a world's statesman and patriot, advanced the theory of personal liberty and an enlarged bill of rights for even those who lived under a constitutional monarchy.

Under the auspices of the Napoleonic regime, the people of Spain constructed a constitution. In this work the order of Free Masons took an active part, and as the tendency of the organic law thus enacted was to limit the power of the Roman Catholic church in political affairs, and to vest political power in the people, naturally as vindictive an organization as the Church

has shown itself to be would not forget to anathematize the Free Masons.

Regardless, however, of that fact, the character of the Spanish government was thus changed from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. By the fundamental law thus enacted, many civil rights were secured to the people, among which were liberty of speech and of the press and a form of the elective franchise. Many wrongs were also redressed, such as the removal of the excessive church taxes of the past, the abolishment of the inquisition, and the discontinuance of the Roman Catholic as the exclusive religion of the country.

By the aid of Wellington and his British forces the French army and administration were removed from Spain in 1812 and Ferdinand re-enthroned. Immediately on his return to power and that he might gratify his clerical supporters and advisers, the newly enthroned king abolished the new constitution, restored the inquisition and so far as lay in his power, inaugurated reactionary measures as to all reforms established during the Napoleonic occupation.

Spain then became the theater of a long and bloody civil war, but in 1819 Ferdinand, deserted by his own troops, saw no safety but in submission to the people. He therefore ordered the reassembling of the cortes of 1812, and in their presence swore to observe the constitution promulgated by that body. The inquisition was again abolished, several religious establishments were suppressed and their revenues confiscated to the state.

The constitution and new orders as to the inquisition and religious fraternities thus adopted in Spain of course had full effect in Mexico. Being liberal and

progressive, those measures excited the hostility of the clergy and principal Spaniards who had been such great beneficiaries under the old order, and their opposition took the form of a resolution "to separate absolutely from Spain and its radicalism."

Obedient to orders from the vatican the clergy had opposed the revolution of Hidalgo, but it was that the interests and revenues of the Church might be the better conserved. Now the same interests were imperiled. Therefore many of the clergy and disaffected Spaniards held secret consultations and perfected a conspiracy having in view primarily the continuance of the rights of religious orders and the revenues of the Church; and secondarily, the methods whereby the people could be induced to co-operate. As a specious cry whereby the multitude could be enthused and aroused to action, it was declared that with the new order their religion was imperiled.

To make their conspiracy effective it was necessary to have a military leader. One in whom they could trust, Don Augustin Iturbide, was selected. He was a Mestizo, having a Spanish father and a Mexican mother, was a soldier of many years' experience in the field, having been an officer of the royalist army which fought Hidalgo and in command of the army which defeated Morelos at Guadalajara.

Iturbide had become imbued with liberal ideas in the latter years of the revolution and sympathized with those who wished the independence of Mexico. He had resigned his office in the imperial army and retired to private life, and was just the man to lead in the new conspiracy, as he was a soldier with a brilliant record and "out of a job." He was also in financial straits

and gladly accepted the proffered leadership, which he hoped would bring him both fame and riches.

To secure an army as well as a leader, the conspirators persuaded the Viceroy Apodaca to appoint Iturbide to the command of a force to operate against Guerrero, who still had a revolutionary army in the south. Iturbide departed from the capital, but with very different intentions from those which the viceroy supposed him to entertain. To carry out in appearance the plans of the viceroy he moved to the south and met Guerrero, but was defeated by him.

Realizing the importance of securing the aid of the old revolutionists, Iturbide sought an interview with Guerrero and laid before him his plans; the end being the independence of Mexico, Guerrero joined and made common cause with Iturbide who, then having an army of 5,500 men at his command, moved to the little town of Iguala, on the road to Acapulco, where on the 24th day of February, 1821, he proclaimed his project known as the "plan of Iguala," and induced his soldiers to take an oath to support it.

This plan had three clauses, called the "three guarantees." The first was, that the religion of the Mexican nation should be the Roman Catholic Apostolic, to the exclusion of all others, with all the rights, privileges and revenues of the Church unimpaired; the second, that the Mexican nation should be a constitutional monarchy with Ferdinand VII. or one of his brothers on the throne; and the third, that all inhabitants of Mexico, whether Spaniards, Mexicans, Mestizos, Negros or Indians, should be citizens of the new nation, to whom all places of profit or preferment should be open, the only tests being virtue and merit. To carry

these provisions into effect a constitution was to be formed by a Mexican congress, members of which were to be elected by the people.

Iturbide lost no time in informing the viceroy of his work, and in view of the confidence which existed mutually, offered him the presidency of the junta to be formed to carry out the good work of independence. Apodaca refused and immediately issued a proclamation opposing the movement, warning the people against giving aid to the insurgents and offering pardon to all who would abandon the revolution. He also concentrated an army a short distance south of the capital to defend and defeat.

His actions not being sufficiently energetic to suit other officials he was deposed, and Don Francis Novello, a military officer, was placed at the head of the government. But his authority was not generally recognized and Iturbide was left to pursue his plans without interruption.

Having the co-operation of Guerrero all the old insurgent chiefs, including the long missing Victoria, soon joined and with them whole detachments of the old revolutionary forces. The creole troops who had not joined in the first now took part in this second revolution. The clergy publicly gave countenance and support to the movement which they had secretly set on foot, and the most distant provinces soon sent in their adherence to the cause; and before the end of the month of July the whole country recognized the authority of Iturbide, with the exception of the capital, in which Novello had shut himself up with the European troops. Valladolid, Puebla and Queretaro were captured and the capital was besieged. Santa Anna now for the first

time became prominent as a leader in the revolution and commanded a force at Vera Cruz. The whole country was in the hands of the Iturbidists.

Under these conditions there landed at Vera Cruz General Juan O'Donoju, the sixty-fourth and last of the Spanish viceroys. Iturbide arranged to meet him at Cordoba, where he was induced to accept by treaty the "Plan of Iguala" as the only means of saving the lives and property of the Spaniards, then in Mexico, and of establishing the right to the throne in the house of Bourbon. By this agreement, called the "treaty of Cordoba," the viceroy in the name of the king, his master, recognized the independence of Mexico on the 24th of August and gave up the capital.

On the 27th day of September, 1821, Iturbide arrived at the convent of San Francisco, dismounted from his horse, was received by the city council and other officers, and the keys of the city were delivered to him. At the palace he was received by the viceroy, who had preceded him. Then there was a grand religious ceremony with all the imposing rites of the Roman Catholic church, closing with the *Te Deum*.

And so Mexico was liberated at last; and of all that immense territory which formed the brightest jewel in the crown of Spain, nothing was left but the citadels of San Juan de Ulua, Perote and Acapulco, and these soon after surrendered. The independence, for which Hidalgo, Morelos, Victoria, Bravo, and other heroes vainly fought during the long period of ten years was thus secured in seven months, and without further shedding of blood.

All opposition being ended and the capital occupied, in accordance with the "Plan of Iguala," a pro-

visional junta was selected, the principal duty of which was to provide for calling a convention or congress, which should construct a constitution for the monarchy. At the same time a regency was named, which should govern the country *ad interim*.

This regency was composed of Iturbide as president, O'Donoju, Barcena, Yanez and Velasquez de Leon. O'Donoju died in October, and Antonio Joaquin Perez, bishop of Puebla, was appointed in his place. Iturbide, to forward the interest by which he had been elevated to power, conferred the presidency upon the bishop of Puebla, while he assumed command of the army with the title of Generalissimo, lord high admiral, and also serene highness. To all of these titles was added a salary of \$120,000 annually.

While the revolution lasted, his will was the law of his followers in everything which tended to promote the separation from Spain. But the revolution had settled no principle, had established no system; and when the old order had been destroyed and a new one was under discussion, the unanimity which had prevailed was at an end.

When the provisional junta was about to prepare a plan for assembling a national congress, Iturbide desired that the members should be bound by oath to support the "Plan of Iguala" in all its parts, before they could take their seats in the congress. To this Generals Guerrero, Victoria and Bravo with many other original insurgents objected, wishing that the people should have liberty to adopt by their deputies such a plan of government as they should prefer. Iturbide carried his point, but the seeds of discontent were sown before the session of congress commenced.

On the 24th of February congress assembled, and three distinct parties were found among its members: the Bourbonists, who wished a constitutional monarchy, with a prince of Bourbon on the throne; the republicans, who desired a federal republic; and the Iturbidists, who wished a monarchy, with Iturbide on the throne instead of a Bourbon.

It soon became known that the Spanish government had repudiated the treaty of Cordoba, declaring it null and void. So the Bourbonists ceased to exist as a party; and the struggle for an organic political system was thus limited to the Iturbidists and the republicans. After a violent controversy, the republicans succeeded in carrying by a large majority a plan for the reduction of the army.

The partisans of Iturbide then saw that his influence was on the wane, and that if they wished ever to see him on the throne, action must be had before the memory of his services should be lost. Therefore they concerted their measures for inducing the army and the populace to declare in his favor. Accordingly, on the night of the 18th of May, 1822, the soldiers of the garrison in the City of Mexico and a mob assembled before the house of Iturbide; and, amidst the brandishing of weapons, proclaimed him emperor, under the title of Augustin the First.

Iturbide, with consummate hypocrisy, pretending to yield with reluctance to what he termed the "will of the people," brought the matter before congress, which, overawed by his armed partisans and a mob, gave their sanction to a measure which they were powerless to oppose. The choice was ratified by the provinces without opposition; and Iturbide found himself in peaceful pos-

session of a throne, to which his own abilities and circumstances had raised him.

Had he been guided by counsels of prudence, and confined his authority within reasonable limits, he might have maintained his imperial office indefinitely; but, forgetting the unstable foundation of his throne, he began his reign with all the airs of hereditary royalty.

A struggle for power immediately commenced between him and congress. He demanded a veto upon each and every article of the constitution then under consideration; and the right of appointing and removing at pleasure the members of the supreme tribunal of justice.

The breach continually widened and, at length, a law proposed by the emperor, for the establishment of military tribunals, was rejected by congress. Iturbide retaliated by imprisoning the most distinguished members of that body.

Remonstrances and reclamations followed, and Iturbide, at length, terminated the dispute as Cromwell and Bonaparte had done on similar occasions before him, by proclaiming, on the 30th of October, the dissolution of congress, and substituting in its stead a junta of his own appointment, which new assembly acted as the ready echo of his will. Yet it never possessed any influence, and the popularity of Iturbide did not long survive his assumption of arbitrary power.

Before the end of November an insurrection broke out in the northern provinces, but it was speedily quelled by the imperial troops. On the 6th of December the youthful general, Santa Anna, a former supporter of Iturbide, but who had been dismissed by him from the government of Vera Cruz, published an address

to the nation in which he reproached the emperor with having broken his coronation oath by dissolving congress; and declared his intention and that of the garrison, which had united with him, to aid in the reassembling of congress and protecting its deliberations.

Santa Anna was soon joined by Victoria, who had never consented to the empire, to whom he yielded the chief command, in expectation that his name and well known principles would inspire with confidence those who favored a republic. A force sent out by the emperor to quell the revolt went over to the insurgents. Generals Guerrero and Bravo took the field on the same side. Dissatisfaction spread through the nation; part of the imperial army revolted; and Iturbide, either frightened by the storm which he had conjured up, or really anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, called together all the members of the old congress then in the capital, and on the 19th of March, 1823, formally resigned the imperial crown, stating his intention to leave the country, lest his presence in Mexico should be the pretext for further dissensions.

Congress, after declaring that his assumption of the crown was an act of violence and therefore null, willingly allowed him to leave the kingdom; and in view of the valuable services he had rendered the country, granted him an annual pension of \$25,000, on condition that he make his domicile in Italy. With his family and suite he embarked for Leghorn on the 11th of May. Thus terminated the first Mexican empire.

The fate of this ambitious and weak, though patriotic, man whose previous career had been so brilliant and successful was indeed sad. His personal magnetism and the memory of benefits bestowed, together with hopes of

possible future preferment, in case his star should be again in the ascendant, had made for him many friends who remained behind, and with whom he maintained correspondence and thereby was kept informed of the vicissitudes of Mexican political affairs.



ITURBIDE.

Misled by representations as to the strength of the monarchial party, and knowing that the government which succeeded him was unstable, he yielded to his inclinations to regain his throne, and left Italy for London. From that place he sent warnings to the Mexican government of the schemes of the holy alliance, to re-

store Spanish rule in Mexico: and offered his services to the country to aid in resisting the movement. When congress had knowlege that he had left Italy and was contemplating a return, it passed an act of outlawry upon him, and pronounced sentence of death to be enforced if he should return to Mexico.

On the 14th of July he suddenly appeared in Soto la Marina. The Mexican commander in the state of Tamaulipas, in which that seaport is situated, invited him to land; and then informed him that, in accordance with a decree of congress, he had but a few hours to live. The legislature of the state in special session discussed the propriety of enforcing the cruel sentence, and finally decided that the execution should take place. Five days afterward he met his fate as a brave soldier in front of the Church at Padilla. A file of soldiers by a single discharge executed the congressional decree.

His remains, after being buried in the Church at Padilla, were, in 1838, removed to the cathedral in the City of Mexico and placed in the chapel of San Felipe de Jesus. Upon the sarcophagus enclosing his remains is inscribed the word "Liberator."

Notwithstanding his fatal ambition, the patriot who visits his tomb can scarcely restrain a tear at the sad fate which thus terminated the life of a "Washington."

CHAPTER VII.

1823 TO 1831.

MEXICO A REPUBLIC—THE CONSTITUTION—ROMAN CATHOLIC THE EXCLUSIVE RELIGION—POLITICAL PARTIES—REPUBLICANISM—CENTRALISM—VICTORIA PRESIDENT—CHURCH REVOLTS—MONTANO REVOLTS—BOTH SUPPRESSED—PEDRAZA ELECTED—RESIGNS—SANTA ANNA REVOLTS—LAWLESSNESS—GUERRERO PRESIDENT—SPANISH INVASION—BUSTAMANTE PRESIDENT—OVERTHROW AND DEATH OF GUERRERO.

ON THE departure of Iturbide from Mexico an executive junta was appointed which should administer the government until the meeting of a new congress. This junta consisted of Generals Victoria, Bravo, Negrete and Guerrero, all distinguished soldiers of the revolution.

Congress assembled on the 23d of August, 1823, and entered at once upon the work of formulating a constitution. On the 31st of January, 1824, the organic law thus prepared was submitted, and on the 4th of October following it was duly adopted.

This instrument was modeled after the constitution of the United States. The absolute independence of the country was declared and the several provinces were united into a federal republic as "THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES." The legislative power was vested in a con-

gress consisting of a senate and house of representatives. The senate was to be composed of two senators from each state, elected by the legislatures thereof for a term of four years. The house of representatives was to be composed of members elected by the citizens of the several states for a term of two years.

The president was to be Mexican born, not less than thirty-five years of age, and was to be elected by the legislatures of the states for the term of four years. The supreme court was to be composed of eleven judges not less than thirty-five years of age respectively, were to be Mexican born and elected by the legislatures of the states.

The several states composing the nation were to organize their governments in conformity to the federal act. Each state was to protect its citizens in the full enjoyment of their liberty. No individual was to commence a suit at law without having previously attempted in vain to settle the case by arbitration. Trial by jury was not provided for, nor was proper publicity given to the processes of the courts in which justice was administered.

The third article declared "The religion of the Mexican nation is and will be perpetually the Roman Catholic Apostolic, *the nation will protect it by wise and just laws* and PROHIBIT THE EXERCISE OF ANY OTHER WHATEVER."

The constitution was not adopted without considerable opposition. Among the newly enfranchised citizens there were very few who had ever held civil office, and the majority were entirely unread as to systems of government. The policy of keeping the people in ignorance of all literature except the catechism and

prayers in Latin, which had obtained in Mexico for three centuries, had utterly disqualified them for affairs of state; and when suddenly enfranchised and rendered eligible to the high duty of deciding upon a national system they were in a condition to be wrongly influenced, and to many the possession of liberty meant the right of license, libertinism and anarchy.

From a comparison of the history of Mexico with that of the United States, after whose organic laws and policies Mexico patterned, may be taught one of the most valuable lessons illustrated by history. Although Mexico was settled nearly a century before the United States, yet the latter had gone through all the hardships and trials of colonial existence, steadily progressed in general knowledge and the growth of liberal principles had outgrown their vassalage and firmly established their independence, while Mexico was still groping in spiritual and intellectual darkness without being fully aware of her slavitude.

When the United States declared her independence it was the deliberate result of a united and intelligent people, smarting under accumulated wrongs, rightly appreciating the value of freedom and with prudent foresight calmly weighing the cost of obtaining it. When once obtained the virtue, intelligence and patriotism of the people were sufficient to preserve it and to guard against all attempts at its subversion.

In Mexico the first resistance to Spanish tyranny was but a sudden and isolated movement of a few individuals with no great number fully grasping the ulterior object of freedom, and the masses of the ignorant population who joined in the insurrection were influenced by no higher motives than those of plunder

and revenge. A declaration of independence found the people disunited, ignorant of the nature and extent of the evils which they were suffering, unaware of their own resources and ready to follow blindly wherever their chiefs led them.

When independence was at length established it was merely for one despotism to give place to another, and a monarchy arose which was but the agent of the ecclesiastics and aristocrats to still further usurp the liberties of the people. The sudden overthrow of the empire of Iturbide made place for another system of government which, while republican in form and fair and comely in proportions, yet contained one of the most odious features of despotism. It contained among its provisions the law that the Roman Catholic religion should be adopted to the exclusion of any other whatever.

A principle more illiberal and un-republican could not have been imagined, and where it prevails the idea and fact of a free government is an absurdity. Of all tyranny that which is exerted over the consciences of the superstitious and ignorant is the most baleful in its effects. It not only renders its subjects more than willing slaves and makes them glory in their bondage, but it incapacitates them for appreciating or enjoying the blessings of liberty when offered them.

As soon as proper after the independence of Mexico had been secured, and while it was yet an empire under Iturbide the United States recognized it as an independent nation and sent Mr. Poinsett as minister to the new government.

He remained in the same capacity during the changes which resulted in the adoption of a constitu-

tion making Mexico a republic with a federal representative system. To his opportune aid cheerfully given the friends of the republic owed much. By it they were enabled to combat successfully all attempts to guide the new ship of state into the perilous waters of experiment; and she emerged from the hands of the constitutional convention under full sail, flying the colors of a republic under a federal representative system, directed to her moorings by the hands of loyal and patriotic citizens of the new nation, who had fought for independence from the first time that the *Grita de Dolores* was sounded on the plains of Mexico or reverberated among the mountains.

With the independence of Mexico the Bourbonists ceased to exist as a separate political party, while the fall of Iturbide destroyed the political organization of which he was the head and so the Republicans had full control of affairs; but they were divided into two factions with decidedly distinct policies. One was for federalism and the other for centralism.

In the election which was held under the newly adopted constitution, Guadalupe Victoria was the candidate of the federalists, while Nicholas Bravo stood for centralism. The canvass of the vote showed that Victoria had been elected president and Bravo vice president, thus embodying the two antagonistic policies of the party in the first administration of the republic. The president and vice president were both inaugurated on the 4th of October, 1824, for the official term of four years.

The administration of Victoria commenced under the most happy and promising auspices. The republic had been established in peace; partisan excitement had

been allayed; no one questioned the authority of the president, and a loan negotiated in England had provided funds for the treasury of the nation.

Notwithstanding all these very promising conditions there soon appeared signs of commotion. During the year 1825 certain political clubs were formed under the name and with the formulas of Free Masonry. Some were organized under the alleged guidance of the United States minister, Poinsett, and were known as Yorkinos. These became the nucleus of the federalists, and in that party the Iturbidists and Democrats generally found a political home. Others were organized under the Scottish rites and were called escoces, and represented centralism; and all Bourbons, monarchists and the clergy here found political affiliations.

The years 1825 and 1826 passed with few disturbances and the administration of Victoria was generally popular, and the country enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity than at any former period. But the constituent elements which formed the nation were so various, so uncongenial and so antagonistic that continued peace could hardly be expected.

The first attempt at revolution came from the Church, was headed by a dominican friar named Padre Arenas, and was designed to restore Spanish rule. This was suppressed, its leaders properly punished and rigorous measures adopted to expel all Spaniards from the country.

The second attempted revolution was headed by Montano, an unknown lieutenant colonel, at Otumba. On the 23d of December, 1827, he proclaimed a plan for the forcible reform of the government. He demanded the abolition of all secret societies, the dismissal of the

cabinet ministers, who were charged with being deficient in probity, virtue and merit; the dismissal of Mr. Poinsett, who was held to be the chief director of the Yorkinos, and a more rigorous enforcement of the constitution and existing laws.

The plan of Montano was immediately declared by the Yorkinos to have for its object "to prevent the banishment of the Spaniards, to avert the chastisement then impending over the conspirators against independence, to destroy Republican institutions and place the country once more under the yoke of a Bourbon!"

General Bravo, the vice president and the leader of the Scotch party, who had heretofore been the advocate of law and order, left the capital, made common cause with the insurgents and issued a manifesto in favor of Montano, in which he denounced the president himself as connected with the Yorkinos.

By this rash movement of Bravo's the president was compelled to throw himself into the arms of the Yorkinos, to whose chief, General Guerrero, he gave the command of the government troops that were sent to put down the insurrection. The outbreak was speedily suppressed. General Bravo, who was really at the head of the movement, which was for political effect, would not allow a conflict at arms; and, on the approach of Guerrero, surrendered. He and the principal leaders were banished the country by a decree of congress, but afterward they were permitted to return to their homes.

The leaders of the Scotch party being removed, it was thought that in the ensuing presidential election, September, 1828, the success of General Guerrero, the Yorkino candidate, was rendered certain. But unex-

pectedly a new candidate was brought forward in the person of General Pedraza, who was Victoria's minister of war. He, after an arduous contest, was elected president by a majority of only two votes over General Guerrero.

The successful party, relying upon their constitutional rights and the sympathies of the friends of Victoria, looked forward to a peaceful administration to follow the election. But the opposition was unwilling to bow submissively to the will of the people expressed in accord with the constitution. They asserted that the election had been carried by fraud and bribery, that Pedraza was the enemy of the liberties of the country, and they declared their determination to redress by an appeal to arms the injustice sustained by General Guerrero, upon whose elevation to the presidency the ascendancy of the Yorkino party naturally depended.

At this juncture Santa Anna, whose name had figured in the most turbulent periods of the revolution since 1821, again appeared upon the political stage; claiming that the result of the election did not show the real will of the people, he at the head of 500 men took possession of the castle of Perote. There on September 10th he published an address declaring that the election of Pedraza had been procured by fraud, and that he had taken it upon himself to rectify the error by proclaiming Guerrero president, as the only effectual mode of maintaining the character and asserting the dignity of the Mexican nation.

On September 17th President Victoria issued a proclamation, calling on the states and the people to aid in arresting the traitor to the laws and the constitution. Santa Anna was besieged at Perote, an action was

fought under the walls of the castle. Santa Anna escaped, was pursued and captured on the 14th of December. But before that time, changes of public sentiment had taken place at the capital: and the captive general in the course of twenty-four hours took com-



VICTORIA.

mand of the very army by which he had been taken prisoner.

About the time of the flight of Santa Anna from Perote the capital became the rallying place for a number of the more ultra of the Yorkino chiefs and ambitious and adventurous insurrectionists. On the night of

November 30th an armed mob seized the barracks' guns and ammunition, and began a reign of terror, wherein law and order was defied and millions of dollars worth of property was taken by pillage and violence. While thus despoiling citizens indiscriminately the mob made demands for the banishment of all Spanish residents, and at the same time they proclaimed that Guerrero had been elected president, and that he should take his office.

Victoria was unable to restore order, and in the absence of energetic action he was charged by many with being in sympathy with the insurrection. These lawless acts remained unchecked for two days, when order was restored by Guerrero himself, whom Victoria appointed minister of war in place of Pedraza, who had fled from the capital.

To avoid civil war and the effusion of blood Pedraza, disregarding the proffered assistance of his adherents, formally resigned the presidency and obtained permission to quit the territories of the republic. Congress, which met on the 1st of January, 1829, declared Guerrero to be duly elected president, having next to Pedraza the highest number of votes. General Bustamente, a distinguished Yorkino leader, was made vice-president; a Yorkino ministry was appointed; and Santa Anna, who was declared to have deserved well of his country, was appointed minister of war.

As Guerrero had been installed by arms, it was natural that he should trust to the same agency for a continuance of power. But the ease with which a revolution could be effected and the supreme authority overthrown by a bold and daring leader had been demonstrated too fatally for the future peace of the country.

and ambitious chiefs were not long wanting to take advantage thereof.

The Spaniards had rendered themselves obnoxious to the people who had control in Mexico by their hostility to the new order of things. So congress decreed in March, 1829, that they should be expelled from the country, and in compliance therewith many were deported. To retaliate for this action and to regain the lost province in America, a squadron of Spanish troops was sent from Havana; and in July, 1829, about 4,000 men landed at Tampico and captured that city.

To meet the emergencies of the times Guerrero was invested with dictatorial powers. After a campaign of two months the invading army surrendered to Santa Anna. Though the danger was past Guerrero did not surrender his extraordinary powers, and his enemies assumed that he had the intention to prolong his dictatorship indefinitely.

Bustamente, the vice-president, then in command of a body of troops, held in reserve to repel the Spaniards, deemed this a favorable opportunity for striking a blow for supremacy. Charging Guerrero with the desire of assuming arbitrary power and demanding concessions, he proceeded toward the capital for the avowed purpose of correcting executive abuses. Santa Anna, the minister of war, at first feebly opposed Bustamente, but at length joined him. The government was easily overthrown. Guerrero fled to the mountains in the south, and Bustamente was proclaimed his successor.

Guerrero had the misfortune to have been of very low and humble parentage. His father was of a race then denominated *castes*, who was entitled to neither civil nor political rights. But in the war of independ-

ence Guerrero had risen to prominence and high rank, and in conjunction with Iturbide had secured the independence of Mexico. He was one of the four entrusted with the government when Iturbide resigned the imperial crown, and had held high rank and responsible command in the army of the republic. In each and all of these positions he had acquitted himself with honor; and as president had firmly sustained the principles of liberty.

But his humble origin secured opposition from the Spaniards and wealthy creoles, while his republicanism assured the hatred of the clergy. In Bustamente these opposing elements found a willing ally, and congress was influenced to co-operate in deposing the president. But the question was, what to do. They had no power to declare his election illegal, for that would affect also the right of the vice-president. So congress declared that Guerrero was morally incapacitated for the high duties of the office, on its own motion deposed him therefrom, and elevated the vice-president, Bustamente.

The leading features of Bustamente's administration, which was sanguinary and proscriptive, was the subversion of the federal constitution and the establishment of a strong central government. He was supported by the military, the priesthood and the great creole proprietors, while the federation was popular with a majority of the people, and was sustained by their votes.

Guerrero retired to his farm in the mountains of the south, glad to be relieved of the cares, excitements and hazards of his office. But he was popular with the people, who were pronounced in their denunciation of the outrage perpetrated upon him, and traced the hostility to his administration to the aristocrats and the clergy.

Fearing the results of a proposed revolution in behalf of Guerrero the administration pardoned six criminals, laying upon them the duty of assassinating the deposed president as the condition of their release. This new danger soon became known to Guerrero, and he sought safety in the solitudes of the mountains.



GUERRERO.

In the spring of 1830 Don Jose Codallos published a "plan," demanding of Bustamente the restoration of civil authority. Encouraged by this demonstration Guerrero appeared in the field, established his government at Valladolid; and the whole country was again in

arms. The attempt of Guerrero to regain supreme power was unsuccessful. He was pursued to Acapulco and there, while being entertained at a complimentary dinner on board a Sardinian ship, he was arrested, the captain of the vessel traitorously performing his part of the capture for the consideration of \$70,000, paid by the centralists. After capture Guerrero was hurriedly taken to Oaxaca, tried by a court martial, condemned to death for "traitorously bearing arms against the government;" and on the 14th of February, 1831, he was executed by being shot; meeting his fate with courage and dignity.

Thus a singular coincidence is presented in the fate of Guerrero and Iturbide. Though they differed essentially in their motives originally, they finally joined in the campaign which resulted in the liberty of Mexico. But both perished at the hands of the very government whose existence they had made possible. The remains of Guerrero now rest in the Panteon de San Fernando in the capital; and his honored statue of bronze adorns the plaza of San Fernando, as a testimony that the Mexican people gratefully cherish the memory of that true patriot and friend of their liberties, and as a standing censure upon the bloody traitors from the clerical centralist party who put him to death.

CHAPTER VIII.

1831 TO 1844.

SANTA ANNA REVOLTS—BUSTAMENTE RESIGNS—PEDRAZA PRESIDENT—SANTA ANNA PRESIDENT—DICTATORIAL SCHEMES—GOMEZ FARIAS ACTING PRESIDENT—CHURCH AND ARMY LIMITED—SANTA ANNA JOINS CENTRALISTS—PROCLAIMED DICTATOR—OVERTHROWS STATE GOVERNMENTS AND THE CONSTITUTION—TEXAS REVOLTS—SANTA ANNA DEFEATED AND CAPTURED BY THE TEXANS—INDEPENDENCE AND LIMITS OF TEXAS—SANTA ANNA IN PRIVATE LIFE—BUSTAMENTE PRESIDENT—SANTA ANNA FIGHTS THE FRENCH—REVOLUTIONS—BUSTAMENTE OVERTHROWN—PLANS—JUNTAS—BASES—SANTA ANNA AGAIN IN POLITICS.

AFTER the execution of Guerrero tranquility prevailed in political affairs until January, 1832, when Santa Anna, pretending alarm at the arbitrary measures of Bustamente, placed himself at the head of the garrison of Vera Cruz and demanded the reorganization of the ministry as a pretext for revolt. He then declared himself in favor of the restoration of the constitution and the enforcement of the laws. The friends of liberty and of the Democratic federal system rallied to his support. Bustamente in person took the

field in command of the army operating against the insurgents, and after a struggle which lasted nearly a year, proposed an armistice to Santa Anna.

This was accepted, and in the conference which resulted it was agreed that Bustamente should resign in favor of Pedraza, who had been elected in 1828; that hostilities should cease and that the armies of both factions should unite in support of the president and of the federal constitution in its original form and design.

Santa Anna dispatched a vessel for the exiled Pedraza, brought him back to the republic and sent him to the capital to serve out the remaining three months of his unexpired term, he being installed December 26, 1832.

In the meantime and while Bustamente was in the field the presidential office was occupied by General Melchor Muzquiz, who was appointed thereto by congress.

Upon his accession to power Pedraza delivered to congress an elaborate address reviewing the events of the preceding four years and passing an extravagant eulogium upon Santa Anna, his early foe but recent friend, and referred to him as his destined successor.

In the election which followed Santa Anna was chosen president and Gomez Farias vice president. On the 15th of May the new president entered the capital, and on the following day assumed the duties of his office. On the first day of June General Duran promulgated a plan at San Augustin, twelve miles south of the capital, in favor of the Church and the army, at the same time proclaiming Santa Anna supreme dictator of the Mexican nation.

Although it was believed that the president had

secretly instigated this movement, yet he raised a large force, appointed Arista his second in command and left the capital with the avowed intention of suppressing the revolt. The troops had not proceeded far when Arista suddenly declared in favor of the plan of Duran, at the same time securing the president's person and proclaiming him dictator. When the news of this movement reached the military in the capital they announced themselves in its favor with shouts of "Santa Anna for dictator?"

The vice president distrusting the sincerity of Santa Anna, and believing that he was employing a stratagem to test the probability of success in his ulterior aim at absolute power, rallied the federalists against the soldiery and defeated the ingenious scheme of the president and his allies. Affecting to make his escape Santa Anna returned to the city, and having raised another force pursued the insurgents, whom he compelled to surrender. Arista was pardoned, Duran banished, and the victorious president returned to the capital, where he was hailed as the champion of the federal constitution and the father of his country.

Soon after Santa Anna retired to his estate in the country and the executive authority devolved upon Farias, the vice president. This distinguished patriot of Mexico deserves special mention, and the following is taken from the "Historia de Mexico," by the History Co., San Francisco, California, as a partial testimony of his work and worth:

"Gomez Farias, the champion of reform in Mexico, was born in Guadalajara, where he received his diploma in medicine and afterwards had considerable patronage and soon was in good circumstances. Democratic to

the heart he was always the champion of progress. He cared little or nothing for riches or honor, but was always anxious to serve his country without any compensation but the good opinion of the people.

“His period was of short duration, though rough and perilous, and in it many events occurred of the greatest importance. The privileged classes received many rude blows from the hand of Farias, who always claimed that the civil authority should be above the military. He tried to abolish the right and habit of the ecclesiastics to interfere in secular affairs.

“When left to bear the burden of state at such trying times, he commenced the work of reform in a university of which he was the principal, by excluding the clergy from teaching therein; and he extended the same rule to all educational institutions which had support from the government. He abolished the system of taxes levied for the support of church-schools and other ecclesiastical institutions, and restrained the courts from enforcing by civil law the binding force of monastic vows, and thus left members of religious orders free to abandon their institutions.

“He also expelled refugee monks who had flocked to Mexico on their expulsion from Central America and Guatamala. These measures of reform in which two of the most powerful classes of society were affected, produced great agitation. The importance of the issues alarmed the clergy, who immediately took the defensive, fomented their pronunciamientos, intrigued with the functionaries and with the ignorant populace.”

The clergy and the army being thus interested in opposing Farias, signs of revolution appeared in different parts of the country, and the friends of Farias charge

that he was too timid to meet the revolution, that he should have convened congress and organized a national guard, but he failed to take any action.

Santa Anna, who had been closely watching events, deemed the occasion favorable to the success of his ambitious schemes, returned to the capital, resumed his duties as chief executive; and, having been proclaimed dictator by the army, he deserted the federal Republican party and system, espoused the cause and assumed the direction of his former antagonists, the centralists. On the 13th day of May, 1834, the constitutional congress and the council of government were dissolved by a military order of the president and a new revolutionary and unconstitutional congress was summoned by another military order. Until the new congress assembled the authority of the entire government remained in the hands of Santa Anna, who covertly used his power and influence to destroy the constitution he had sworn to defend.

The states of the federation were more or less agitated by these arbitrary proceedings. When the new congress assembled in January, 1835, petitions and declarations in favor of a central government were poured in by the military and the clergy, while protests and remonstrances on behalf of the federal constitution were presented by some of the state legislatures and the people. The latter were disregarded and their supporters persecuted and imprisoned, while the former were received as the voice of the nation and a corrupt, aristocratic congress acted accordingly.

The vice president, Gomez Farias, was deposed without impeachment or trial and General Barragan, a leading centralist, was appointed in his place.

One of the first acts of congress was a decree for reducing and disarming the militia of the several states. The opinion that congress had the power to change the constitution at pleasure was openly avowed, and every step taken evinced a settled purpose to establish a strong central government on the ruins of the federal system. The state of Zacatecas refused to disband its militia and resorted to arms to resist the overthrow of federalism.

Santa Anna marched against the insurgents in May, and after an engagement of two hours defeated them at Guadalupe. The city of Zacatecas soon surrendered and all resistance in the state was overcome. A few days after the fall of Zacatecas, the "Plan of Toluca" was published, changing the federal system into a central government, abolishing the legislatures of the states and changing the states into departments under control of military commandants who were to be responsible to the chief authorities of the nation—the latter to be concentrated in the hands of one individual whose will was law.

This "plan," generally supposed to have originated with Santa Anna himself, was adopted by congress, and on the 3d of October following, General Barragan, the acting president, issued a decree in the name of congress abolishing the federal system and establishing a "Central Republic." This form of government was formally adopted in 1833 by a convention of delegates appointed for that purpose.

Several of the Mexican states protested against this assumption of power on the part of congress, and avowed their determination to take up arms against the ecclesiastical and military despotism, which was despoil-

ing them of their rights as free-men, and to reestablish the constitution of 1824. They were all, however, with the exception of Texas, speedily reduced by the arms of Santa Anna, who exercised the dual office of president and commander of the army, leaving the vice-president nominally in the executive chair.

! Texas destitute of numerical strength, regular troops and pecuniary resources, was left to contend single-handed and alone for her guaranteed rights against the whole power of the general government, wielded by a man who hitherto had had uninterrupted military success, and who delighted in styling himself "the Napoleon of the west."

The Texans had been uniformly successful in several skirmishes in the fall of 1835, and had captured San Antonio from general Cos, who with his army had capitulated and surrendered the famous Alamo. The citizens of Texas had also assembled in convention at San Felipe and had published a manifesto, in which they declared themselves not bound to support the existing government of Mexico, and proffered their assistance to such states of the Mexican confedracy as would take up arms in defense and support of their rights as guaranteed by the constitution of 1824.

Santa Anna alarmed by these acts of resistance to his authority, and astonished at the military spirit exhibited by the Texans, resolved to strike a decisive blow against that rebellious province. Therefore he set out on the 1st of February, 1836, from Saltillo for the Rio Grande, where an army of 8,000 men, composed of the best troops of Mexico, was assembling for the invasion of Texas. On the 12th he reached the Rio Grande,

and on the 23d arrived at San Antonio de Bexar, where his whole army was concentrated.

San Antonio was held by a small garrison of Texans, who were soon defeated and the garrison put to the sword. Desperate encounters followed in various places, but the vast superiority of the invading army gave the victory to Santa Anna, who disgraced his name by the remorseless cruelties of which he was guilty.

His hopes of conquest, however, were in the end disappointed; for as he was about to withdraw his armies in the belief that the province was subdued he met with an unexpected and humiliating defeat. He had already advanced to the San Jacinto, a stream which enters the head of Galveston bay, when on the 21st of April, 1836, he was attacked in camp, where he was in command of more than 1,600 men, by a Texan force of only 783 men, commanded by General Houston. Although Santa Anna was prepared for the attack, so vigorous was the onset that in twenty minutes the camp was carried. 630 of the Mexicans were killed, more than 200 were wounded, and 730 taken prisoners. Among the latter was Santa Anna himself. Of the Texans only eight were killed and seventeen wounded.

Although a majority of the Texas troops demanded the execution of Santa Anna, as the murderer of many of their countrymen who had been taken prisoners, yet his life was spared by the extraordinary firmness of General Houston and his officers; and a treaty was concluded with him by which the entire Mexican force was withdrawn from the state of Texas, the independence of the state acknowledged, and the boundry fixed as the Rio Grande.

Santa Anna returned to Mexico by way of the

United States, having been sent to Washington on a diplomatic mission; and being furnished by President Jackson with a ship of war he was conveyed to Vera Cruz, where he arrived on the 20th of February, 1837, ten months after his capture by General Houston. He immediately addressed a letter to the minister of war, wherein he disavowed all treaties and stipulations. On reaching Mexico Santa Anna retired to his hacienda, and remained in obscurity for nearly two years.

On the departure of Santa Anna from the capital for the conquest of Texas, his authority had devolved on General Barragan as vice-president, who having died in February, 1836, Don Jose Justo Carro was appointed in his place, who held the office until the 19th of April following.

At the next election Bustamente was chosen president, he having recently returned from France, where he had resided since his defeat by Santa Anna in 1832. His administration was soon disturbed by declarations for Gomez Farias for the presidency and for federation. But the disturbances were quelled with little difficulty.

In 1838 General Mexia a second time raised the standard of revolt against the central government. Advancing towards the capital with a brave band of patriots he was met near Puebla by Santa Anna, who creeping forth from his retreat to regain popularity by some striking exploit, was weakly trusted by Bustamente with the command of the government troops. Mexia lost the day, was taken prisoner, and with scarcely time left for prayer or communication with his family, was shot by order of his conquerer on the field of battle. When Santa Anna announced his doom to be death within three hours, Mexia said: "You are right. I would

not have granted you one-half the time had I conquered."

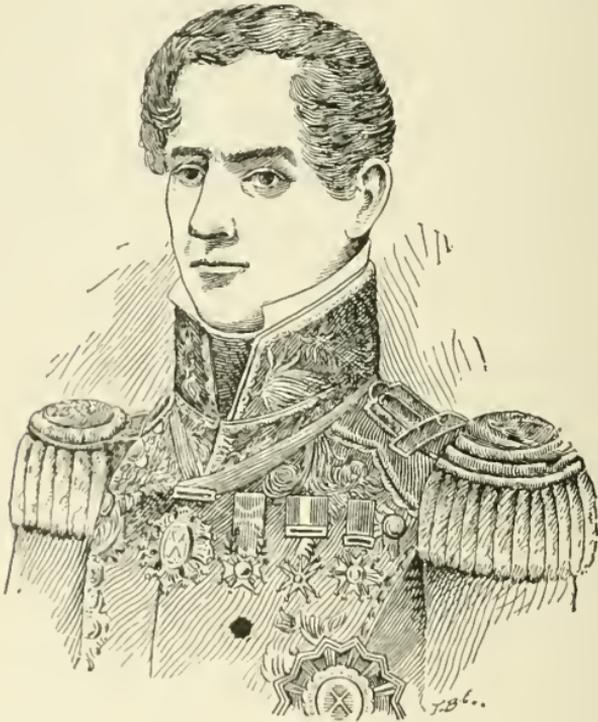
On March 31st a French fleet appeared on the Mexican coast, demanding reparation for damages sustained in the plundering of French citizens, and the destruction of property by contending factions, and for loans collected by violence. The rejection of the demand was followed by a blockade; and in the winter following the city of Vera Cruz was attacked by French troops. An opportunity being offered to Santa Anna to repair his tarnished reputation and regain his standing with the army, he proceeded to the port, took command of the troops; and while following the French when reembarking one of his legs was shattered by a cannon ball, and amputation became necessary.

In the month of July, 1840, the federalist party, headed by General Urrea and Gomez Farias, excited an insurrection in the City of Mexico, and seized the president himself. After a conflict of twelve days, in which many citizens were killed and much property destroyed, a convention of general amnesty was agreed upon by the contending parties, and hopes were held out to the federalists of another reform in the constitution.

These expectations not being realized, in August, 1841, another revolution broke out. It commenced with a declaration against the government by Paredes in Guadalajara, and was speedily followed by an uprising in the capital, and by another in Vera Cruz headed by Santa Anna. The capital was bombarded. A month's contest in the streets of the city followed, and the revolution closed with the downfall of Bustamente, who departed for Europe, leaving the executive office in the

hands of Echeverria, president of the council, or virtual vice-president.

In September a convention of the commanding officers was held at Tacubaya, a general amnesty was declared, and a "plan" was agreed upon by which the existing constitution of Mexico was superseded and pro-



SANTA ANNA.

vision made for the calling of a congress in the following year to form a new one. The "Plan of Tacubaya" provided for the election in the meantime of a provisional president, who was to be invested with "all the powers necessary to reorganize the nation in all the

branches of administration." To the general-in-chief of the army was given the power to choose a junta or council, which council was to choose the president.

Santa Anna being at the head of the army selected the junta, and the junta returned the compliment by selecting him for president. He declared his partiality for a firm and central government, but expressed his disposition to acquiesce in the decision of that intelligent body. The proceedings of that body, however, not being agreeable to him, he dissolved it in the following December, and a junta of notables was convened in its place.

The result of the deliberations of that body was a new constitution, called "The Bases of Political Organization of the Mexican Republic," proclaimed on the 13th of June, 1843. By this instrument the Mexican territory was divided into departments. It was declared that a popular representative system was adopted, and that the Roman Catholic religion is professed and protected to the exclusion of all others. The executive power was lodged in the hands of a president, to be elected for the term of five years. The president was to be assisted by a council, composed of seventeen persons, appointed by the president himself, and their tenure of office was to be perpetual. The legislative power was vested in a congress, consisting of a chamber of deputies and a senate. A property qualification was required as a prerequisite to the exercise of the elective franchise.

CHAPTER IX.

1844 TO 1855.

SANTA ANNA DICTATOR—REVOLUTION—SANTA ANNA'S ARMY—IMPRISONS STATE DEPUTIES—CONGRESS DISSOLVED — RESISTS — HERRERA PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT—SANTA ANNA PRISONER—BANISHED — ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES—MANY PRESIDENTS—SANTA ANNA RECALLED AND MADE PRESIDENT—BATTLES WITH AMERICANS—DEFEAT—LEAVES MEXICO—OTHER PRESIDENTS—HERRERA PRESIDENT—ARISTA PRESIDENT—RESIGNS—SANTA ANNA RETURNS—PRESIDENT AGAIN—DICTATOR AGAIN—REVOLUTIONS—SANTA ANNA LEAVES MEXICO—SUBSEQUENT CAREER—DEATH.

UNDER the new organic system of government, Santa Anna was chosen president, or more correctly speaking, supreme dictator of the Mexican nation; and his administration commenced in January, 1844. The new government met with much opposition. Santa Anna had been raised to power by a military revolution rather than by a people free to exercise their uncontrolled will, and they regarded with distrust both the man and his measures, and were ready for a revolt against a government which they had little or no share

in establishing, whenever an opportunity was presented or a leader called to arms.

After the lapse of some months Santa Anna expressed a desire to retire for a time to his farm for private business, and it became the duty of the senate to appoint a president *ad interim*.

So strong had the opposition to the dictator become that the candidate of the administration, Canalizo, had a majority of only one vote over the candidate of the opposition.

Scarcely had Santa Anna left the capital when an insurrection broke out in Guadalajara, and congress was called upon to make reforms in the constitution and laws. Paredes, the revolutionist, openly declared against the dictator, and at the head of an army marched toward the capital. Canalizo, the acting president, immediately invested Santa Anna with the command of the army which operated against Paredes. At the head of 8,500 men he departed from Jalapa and arrived at the capital. The provinces through which he passed were full of professions of loyalty to his government and he found the same in the capital. But at the same time symptoms of disquiet and uncertainty began to appear. Although congress did not openly support Paredes, yet it seemed secretly inclined to support the revolution; and moreover it insisted that Santa Anna should proceed constitutionally, which he had not done; for he had taken command of the army in person, which by the constitution he was forbidden to do without previous permission from congress.

Nevertheless he marched with his army on the 22d of November for the state of Queretaro, where he intended to concentrate a force sufficient to overwhelm

Paredes. On the same day the chamber of deputies voted the impeachment of the minister of war for signing the order by which Santa Anna had command of the army. On his arrival at Queretaro Santa Anna found that while the military were in his favor, yet the legislative assembly had already pronounced in favor of Paredes and the reforms demanded. He therefore informed the members that if they did not immediately *re-pronounce* in his favor, he would send them prisoners to Perote, and on their refusal to do so they were arrested by his order.

When news of these proceedings reached the capital the minister of war and the acting president were ordered to appear before congress and inform that body whether they had authorized Santa Anna to imprison the members of the assembly at Queretaro. But instead of answering to this demand, on the 1st of December the minister caused the doors of congress to be closed; and on the day following appeared a proclamation of Canalizo declaring congress dissolved indefinitely and conferring upon Santa Anna all the powers of government, legislative as well as executive, the same to be exercised by Canalizo until otherwise ordered by Santa Anna.

When news of these proceedings reached Puebla the garrison and people declared against the government and offered an asylum to the members of congress. Early on the morning of the 6th of December the people of the capital and the military arose in arms, and Canalizo and his ministers were imprisoned. On the 7th congress reassembled. General Herrera, the leader of the constitutional party, was appointed provisional president of the republic and a new ministry was formed. Rejoicings and festivities of the people followed. The

tragedy of "Brutus, or Rome Made Free," was performed at the theaters in honor of the success of the revolutionists. Everything bearing the name of Santa Anna—his trophies, statues and portraits—were destroyed by the populace. Even his amputated leg, which had been embalmed and buried with military honors was disinterred, dragged through the streets and broken to pieces with every mark of indignity and contempt.

Santa Anna, however, was still in command of a large body of the regular army, at the head of which early in January he marched against Puebla, hoping to strike an effective blow by the capture of that place, or to open his way to Vera Cruz, whence he might escape from the country, if that alternative became necessary. But at Puebla he found himself surrounded by the insurgents in overwhelming numbers, his own troops began to desert him; and after several unsuccessful attempts to take the city, on the 11th of January he sent in a communication offering to treat with and submit to the government. His terms not being accepted he attempted to escape, but was taken prisoner and confined in the castle of Perote. After an imprisonment of several months congress, after first ordering his execution, finally reconsidered the same and passed a decree of perpetual banishment against him, when he left the country and made his home in Cuba.

In the meantime Texas having remained independent of Mexico for nine years, and having been recognized as an independent nation by the United States and the principal nations of Europe, had applied for admission into the American union as a state thereof. On the 6th of March, 1845, soon after the passage of the

act of annexation by the American congress, the Mexican minister at Washington demanded his passports and returned to Mexico.

On the arrival in Mexico of the news of the annexation, the provisional president, Herrera issued a proclamation declaring the measure a breach of the national faith and called upon the citizens to rally to the support of the national integrity, which was endangered. He also sent large bodies of troops to the Rio Grande with the object of enforcing the claim of Mexico to the territory of Texas.

In view of these facts in the latter part of July the government of the United States sent General Zachary Taylor with an army to take a position at Corpus Christi, in the state of Texas.

In the election which was held in Mexico in August, Herrera was chosen president, and on the 16th of September took the oath of office in the presence of the Mexican congress. His administration, however, was of short duration. Evidently convinced of the inability of Mexico to carry on a successful war with the United States, he evinced a disposition to negotiate for a peaceful settlement of the controversy which caused Paredes, who was in command of a portion of the army designed for action in Texas, to seize the opportunity for appealing to the patriotism of his countrymen. He declared against the administration of Herrera with the avowed object of preventing the latter from concluding an arrangement by which a part of Mexico should be ceded to the United States.

On the 21st of December the Mexican congress conferred upon Herrera dictatorial powers to enable him to quell the revolution, but on the approach of Paredes to

the city at the head of 6,000 men, the regular army there declared in his favor the administration of Herrera terminated and Paredes became provisional president.

The hostile spirit which the war party in Mexico, headed by Paredes had evinced toward the United States, induced the latter to take measures for guarding against any invasion of the territory claimed by Texas; and on the 11th of March, 1846, the army of General Taylor broke up its encampment at Corpus Christi and commenced its march toward the Rio Grande. On the 28th of the same month it took a position opposite Matamoras. Open hostilities soon followed, the Mexicans making the attack.

The battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, fought May 8 and 9, on the soil claimed by Texas, resulted in victory to the American arms and soon after Matamoras was occupied. On the 21st, 22d and 23d of September Monterey was stormed, and on the 24th capitulated to General Taylor. Upper California had previously submitted to the American navy, commanded by Commodore Sloat, and the city and valley of Santa Fe had surrendered to General Kearney.

Such were the events which opened the war on the frontiers of Mexico. Notwithstanding the energy and success which marked the beginning of the career of Paredes in the field, he was able to hold his presidential office only six months. He developed remarkable monarchical tendencies, and a public journal published by himself openly proposed an empire with a Bourbon on the throne as the only means whereby the Americans could be defeated. He marched from the capital to quell an insurrection in Guadalajara, and in his absence

congress installed General Bravo as president *ad interim*, on the 29th of July.

But the capital developed yet another insurrection. Bravo was displaced and General Salas became provisional president. Under his administration all contending factions were reconciled and brought to unity of action. The constitution of 1824 was re-established, the army reorganized, Santa Anna recalled from exile that his skill might be made available in resisting the American armies, congress was convened for the election of a president and the deposed Paredes was arrested and imprisoned.

When Santa Anna arrived at Vera Cruz he issued an address to the Mexican people, claiming that disinterested patriotism alone had induced him to return, and that he intended to seek and fight the invaders. He moved rapidly to the capital, took command of military affairs, seemed to ignore politics, collected supplies, went to San Luis Potosi, took command of the army and prepared to march against General Taylor at Buena Vista. While thus in the field, congress on the 24th of December, 1846, elected him president and Gomes Farias vice president.

Farias, the vice president, exerted himself in the interim to secure the necessary funds wherewith to carry on the war. He enforced a decree to subject the immense properties of the Church to the payment of taxes, a duty from which they had hitherto been exempt. This measure caused great excitement among the clergy, and in their interest and at their instigation revolutions were commenced in Oaxaca and elsewhere.

With the disastrous defeat of Santa Anna, at Buena Vista, he returned to the capital and assumed the presi-

dency. One of his first acts was to remove Farias and to abolish the office of vice-president. But the advance of General Scott and the American army to Cerro Gordo again called him to the front. This time General Anaya was appointed presidential substitute, and he held the office about two months.

The defeat of the Mexicans at Cerro Gordo caused the return of the army to the capital, and from the month of June to the time of the occupation of the city by the victorious Americans in September, Santa Anna discharged the duties of chief executive. When it was determined to abandon the city, he turned the command of the army over to General Lombardino and left Mexico. He was succeeded in the presidency by Don Manuel Pena Y. Pena, who as president of the supreme court of justice, was entitled to the office under the circumstances. The seat of government was temporarily transferred to Queretaro, the capital being in the hands of the Americans.

When congress assembled Don Pedro Maria Anaya was appointed president *ad interim* on the 12th of November, and he held the office until January 7th, when Don Manuel Pena Y. Pena resumed the position and held it until June 3, 1848, when General Herrera entered the second time into the presidency, he having been duly elected thereto. He concluded the treaty of peace with the United States, ending the war which commenced in his first term.

It is characteristic of the people, an indication of the factions into which they were divided, and an evidence of their vacillation and incapacity, to know that twelve changes took place at executive headquarters during the war with the United States.

The task which confronted Herrera was a most difficult one. It was his duty to revivify the country so badly destroyed, to reorganize the various branches of the national administration, to upbuild the institutions of public and private life, and to reestablish prosperity. He was confronted with an exhausted treasury and a divided country.

While diligently applying himself to his extraordinary duties he was confronted with a revolution headed by the irrepressible Paredes, who based his revolt upon the terms on which the war with the United States had been concluded; but the government troops suppressed the outbreak. The administration of Herrera unfortunately failed to meet the wishes of the clergy, who found it too liberal and progressive. But while discontent was manifested no successful demonstration was made, and the legal term of four years closed in peace.

The election of 1850 resulted in the choice of General Arista, who had held the cabinet office of minister of war under Herrera, and who had lost no opportunity to make his office aid him in his presidential aspirations. His inauguration took place on the 15th of January, 1851, when, for the first time in the history of the country, one president succeeded another, both constitutionally elected, and without violence.

Arista had the support of the liberals, though he himself was somewhat of a conservative. The congress was decidedly liberal, and the president united with it in its policies and laws against centralism. The clergy, alarmed at the progress of liberalism, resolved to play their vast resources and to make an effective resistance. A revolution was started in Guadalajara. This was fol-

lowed by others, and it all resulted in compelling Arista to resign in January, 1853.

The presidency then, according to law and usage, devolved upon Juan Bautista Ceballos, president of the supreme court, and he promptly qualified and assumed the office. His first act was an attempt to dissolve congress on account of its excessively liberal acts and principles, but congress resisted and passed a resolution branding him as a traitor. It also proceeded to elect Don Juan Mujica president, but he declined the office.

Realizing the seriousness of the opposition to his administration, Ceballos tendered his resignation. But at this time, February 4, 1853, the army which favored centralism began a revolution, demanding a national convention to form a new constitution, and named Santa Anna as provisional president.

Santa Anna had while in exile maintained correspondence with the conservatives, centralists and the clergy, who were ever ready to aid him to power. Ceballos insisted upon his resignation; and to relieve himself from further responsibility and to secure its acceptance he appointed General Lombardino president.

That officer was a friend to Santa Anna, and he accepted the office until he could hold an election in some of the states. The election resulted in the choice of the exiled Santa Anna; and he, being prepared for the result, promptly returned to the scene of his many vicissitudes.

On the 1st day of April, 1853, the feet of Santa Anna were newly placed on the soil of Mexico. His journey to the capital appeared as a triumphal march. On the road he was greeted by people from all parts of the country with the waving of banners and the ringing

of bells; and he passed under arches richly adorned with the most beautiful flowers, amid the applause of the populace and salvos of artillery. His smiles and promises had better effect than a studied speech.

None the less was the effect of his proclamation of a general amnesty towards all charged with political offenses, which calmed the fears of many who had expected acts of vengeance. He immediately commenced an era of centralism, dissolved congress and the legislatures of the several states, suppressed all city governments where the population was less than 10,000, and centralized the administration of the revenues. He appointed a cabinet which was in accord with his plans, and began to formulate a plan to establish a monarchy, based upon the principle of the Spanish empire.

By his extraordinary faculties he brought his entire party into complete subordination to his views and wishes as dictator. To further his plans he deprived public employees of the right to hold or express opinions, limited the liberty of the press, increased the army, disbanded the militia, flattered the populace, and reestablished the Jesuits. The magnitude of his vanity and pretensions was manifest when he took the style of "serene highness" and established the order of the "Guadalupe," the same as was instituted by the Emperor Iturbide.

The army approved of these advances toward centralism, and some of the districts proclaimed him emperor. These proceedings were not sanctioned by the people in general, and to many his assumptions were only a subject of ridicule. His favorites believed him to be the saviour of the nation, and that if he did not continue in command it would be exposed to anarchy and

ruin. They thought that he was making many sacrifices for the public good. Consequently, on the 16th of December, 1853, he issued a decree in which he prolonged indefinitely his dictatorship. "Full to repletion with vanity and blind with adulation, Santa Anna began to consider himself as nearly a god."

Opposition to his dictatorship promptly took the form of revolution, and distinguished patriots in all parts of the country were developed, who pronounced against him. Among those who led in revolt was General Juan Alvarez, an old revolutionist who had seen service with Morelos in 1810-11-12, and who had never ceased to love liberty. On the 1st of March, 1854, he proclaimed the plan of Ayutla, wherein he called for the convocation of a congress which should form a new constitution, by which a federal representative system should take the place of the dictator's schemes and arbitrary assumptions.

This plan was largely favored, and on the 11th of March General Ignatio Comonfort joined in the movement, aided by the garrison at Acapulco. The revolution gained ground rapidly, and soon a large force was under arms.

Santa Anna took personal command of his army, and entered the field to suppress the revolt. He also proposed and held a popular election, wherein the people should determine whether his dictatorial powers should continue or not. By skillful and fraudulent manipulation it appeared in the returns that his powers and system should continue; but so palpable were the frauds perpetrated that it but added to the general discontent; and Alvarez's army was greatly reenforced. After a few

contests at arms Santa Anna returned to the capital and published himself victorious.

The sale of a part of the Mexican national domain to the United States, known as the Gadsden purchase, for the sum of \$10,000,000, only a part of which reached the national treasury of Mexico, added to the unpopularity of the dictator.

Accustomed to observe the political barometer and the popular sentiment, and to note the coming storm and to seek a place of security, Santa Anna did in this case as he had often done in the past. To avoid anticipated personal injury at the hands of his infuriated and despoiled subjects, he secretly left the capital on the night of the 8th of August, fled rapidly to Vera Cruz; and three days after quitting the City of Mexico he sailed for Havana.

Before leaving the capital he named a triumvirate, composed of the president of the supreme court and Generals Salas and Carrera, who should administer affairs of state in his absence. At Perote, while on his flight, he issued a manifesto, in which he commended his own services and accused others of having ruined the country. This was the last paper of importance issued by Santa Anna in the country, which had been for many years the toy of his base intrigues, and whose treasure and blood had been poured out in torrents as a sacrifice to his ambition.

Thus ended the official career of this talented and energetic, but ambitious and unprincipled man. No citizen of Mexico had greater opportunities to benefit the country. None did it greater injury. He resided for a time in Cuba and then in the United States. He made overtures to the French generals, in 1863, to

take part in their invasion and schemes in favor of Maximillian; but, as confidence in his integrity was lacking, he was not permitted so to do.

After the fall of Maximillian he schemed against the government of Juarez, attempted to land at Vera Cruz, was captured and sentenced to death; but, through the leniency of the president, the sentence was commuted to exile. After the death of Juarez he returned to Mexico under a general amnesty; but he lived in obscurity, and never again took part in public affairs. He died June 20, 1876, and his tomb is in the Panteon de Tepeyacac, in the rear of the Cerrito, at Guadalupe Hidalgo, and his portrait is in the National Museum in the City of Mexico.

When the flight of Santa Anna from the City of Mexico became known, on the morning of the 9th of August, anarchy ruled; and in their excitement, indignation, and desire for revenge, the people sacked his house, burned his coach and furniture, and in like desperate and lawless manner treated the houses and property of his ministers and principal partisans and supporters.

CHAPTER X.

1855 TO 1858.

ALVAREZ PRESIDENT—MANY REFORMS—RESIGNS—
COMONFORT PRESIDENT—SUPPRESSES REVOLU-
TION AT PUEBLA—CONFISCATES CHURCH PROP-
ERTY—MORE REFORMS—CHURCH FIGHTS AND
SUFFERS—VAST WEALTH OF CLERGY—NEW CON-
STITUTION—CHURCH OPPOSITION—COMONFORT VA-
CILLATES—SUCCESSFUL CHURCH REVOLUTION—
COMONFORT RESIGNS AND LEAVES MEXICO.

THE triumvirate appointed by Santa Anna without delay installed General Le Vega as acting president, and he succeeded in establishing order in the city. The troops of the garrison, however, by a popular demonstration, placed General Carrera in charge of the presidency; and on the 15th of August he assumed the office. However, he resigned; and on the 11th of September Le Vega again became acting president, and held the office until the inauguration of Alvarez.

With the downfall of Santa Anna the plan of Ayutla was put into full force and effect, and the congress which was called under its provisions elected General Alvarez provisional president. He entered upon the discharge of the duties of the office on the 4th of October, 1855. He appointed Comonfort minister of war, and also took into his cabinet such decided liberals as Juarez and Ocampo.

Now for the first time in the history of Mexico was there an administration of national affairs, not under the absolute control of the clergy, complete in all departments, and sustained by the fundamental law. Alvarez occupied the chair of state only until December 12th, but in that short period many reforms were inaugurated. He annulled all despotic measures adopted by Santa Anna, and removed his corrupt appointees.

During his administration the famous and characteristic "Law Juarez" was promulgated. This law limited the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical and military tribunals, and abolished the charters and privileges of the clergy and the army. Although these measures were necessary to prevent other and threatened political disturbances, the enemies of the government censured it greatly, attributing the measures to a base desire to humiliate the clergy, and to limit their influence.

There was a conservative element among the people who, at this juncture, urged Alvarez to resign his office in favor of Comonfort, his minister of war. Alvarez was an old man with no ambition except to benefit his country; and having the greatest confidence in Comonfort, his friend, ally and fellow-patriot, he cheerfully complied with the persuasions and committed the presidency to his hands.

Although less radical in his politics than Alvarez, the new president maintained faithfully the Plan of Ayutla, and for so doing the clergy continued their machinations; and soon after they installed an insurrection headed by Haro, one of Santa Anna's cabinet officers. Other chiefs of influence gave co-operation, and soon after a large insurrectionary army was in the field at Puebla. Comonfort in person took command of the

government troops, gave battle, and gained a signal victory, which resulted in the surrender of Puebla.

Inasmuch as the clergy of the diocese had been the promoters of the insurrection, Comonfort caused the sequestration of enough property of the Church to pay the expenses of the war, and to indemnify the government against all damages and prejudices which had occurred.

These measures, so radical and so different from the past centuries of the history of Mexico, caused a great commotion; and the Bishop Labastida was so marked in his actions that he was banished from the country, and with other refugee chiefs sailed for Europe. That he did not yield in his opposition to the reformed republic is shown by the fact that when the French troops took possession of Mexico in accord with the plans of the French emperor and the pope of Rome to overthrow the lawful republic, this same Labastida, then promoted to the office of archbishop, came with them and aided to establish the empire.

Following the overthrow of the revolt of Puebla, a decree was published which suppressed the Jesuits in Mexico; and on the 25th of June, 1856, the famous law of which Miguel Lerdo was the author was promulgated. By this law all corporations, civil and ecclesiastical, were prohibited from owning real estate, except such as was necessary to the business of the organization. It gave to all lessees of any church property the right to purchase the same on advantageous terms, and gave the right of "*denunciation*," whereby any improved property of the Church which should be untenanted could be entered and possessed by any citizen; and the title would go with the possession. A decree was also issued order-

ing the sale of all unimproved real estate of the Church at an assessed value. The Church was to receive the proceeds of the sale, but the land was to be thereby freed from ecclesiastical control, and to become a part of the taxable wealth of the country, held in private hands.

The clergy issued anathemas against these orders, and denounced any and all who should purchase at the sales, with the assurance that the curse of God would go with the title thus acquired. The result was that but few bidders had the courage to take the risk. But with wise foresight as to the speculative opportunity, and with the impression that the clergy were not the kind of people for whom God would interfere by a special providential visitation of an injurious character, some had the courage to buy and take title to valuable properties at ruinously low figures; and as a result many Mexicans are now millionaires, who, while they enjoy the benefits of the property, have not found themselves to be the special subjects of divine wrath, nor even to be avoided by their fellow-men, priests included.

In September, 1856, Comonfort had information that certain ecclesiastics, who were domiciled in the monastery of San Francisco, in the city were conspiring against his government. By his order the national troops took possession of the building and its inmates. The monastery was suppressed and its property confiscated. Afterwards the decree of suppression was recalled, but the conspiring ecclesiastics were not mollified.

These measures caused the clergy to raise a fearful outcry, and to hurl anathemas at the government, but the only result was the banishing of many of the clergy

and friars. The deportment of Comonfort in all these trying times was so straightforward and so generous that he gained many friends and secured the sympathies of many for the liberal cause and principles.

Mexico had secured her independence with a grand revolutionary struggle which ended in 1821; but the nation was feeble and vacillating, and groaned under the evils transmitted from three centuries of military, political and ecclesiastical oppression.

"In the great struggle of the present period the republicans directed their attacks upon despotism, superstition, and the odious distinctions between class and race, seeking to unite all classes into a compact and intelligent effort to dispossess placemen and spoilsmen, who in the past affiliated with any and all parties to secure spoils.

"The conservatives claimed that the masses were in no condition to practice and enjoy equality of rights and liberty; and that only the Church had power and the indispensable ability to maintain nationality.

"The centralists and monarchists claimed that it was unwise and injudicious to divide the country into states that so to do was perilous to union and order; and that the supreme authority shou'd be deposited in the hands of one vigorous person, who could suppress revolutions and secure the advancement of the country; and that power should be lodged with the religious and the rich of the land, instead of the people in general.

"The liberals recognized the origin and tendencies of the evil, and with energy continued their attacks upon the same, and in spite of occasional reverses maintained their efforts. Education gained ground, the inquisition had been abolished, and the Jesuits had no

more power; and so gradually the power of the Church had been diminished.

“The Spanish government had administered a terrible blow against the priests, friars and military tribunals, just before the independence of Mexico had been gained; and now the republic was following the excellent example. Vows made to religious orders were absolved, missions had been secularized, and at the same time the right to name and number the prelates had been exercised, regulations had been made and enforced whereby the revenues and incomes of the Church and clergy had been limited, and the civil tribunals had been invested with the right to supervise the Church, the clergy and their properties.

“These acts were at the dictation of Juarez and Lerdo, and had for their principal object the depriving of the clergy of power to carry forward their perilous machinations; for with their immense riches they were able to control political elements and parties, and perpetuate their selfish and injurious plans.”*

From the date of the conquest of Mexico, in 1521, the clergy had charged themselves with two lines of work. One was to see to the spiritual welfare of the people, and to that they devoted some of their leisure, and had made some progress; the other was to secure as much as possible of the wealth of the country into the hands of the clergy and the coffers of the Church, and in the last named duty they had made greater progress. Notwithstanding the losses which the Church had sustained by the war and other opposing measures, in 1860 one-third of the national wealth was absolutely in their control, though the state coffers were empty.

*Biografía de Diaz.

The holdings of the Church and clergy at that time was \$500,000,000 in real estate and \$150,000,000 in personal property. These accumulations were the result of the policy adopted by the Spanish discoverers and conquerors, who had liberally granted to the Church a division of the spoils in the form of large concessions of land and important privileges. To aid the reader in understanding the facts, the following is inserted:

“The Church has occupied in Mexico a very prominent part for good and for evil. The cross and the sword have marched hand in hand on the road to conquest. * * * * Notwithstanding the Church is enriched with casual profits, gifts and the increase of values, until on a fair calculation its properties are equivalent to half the total riches of the country in real estate, the revenues from the nine dioceses and that of Chiapas, at the conclusion of the eighteenth century has been computed positively at \$13,000,000 annually, of which the third part went to the archbishop. * * * * The power of the clergy was sustained also by a great number of privileges, among the most conspicuous being the right to exercise the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts of justice, the influence which they exercised in the confessional, and the terrible weapon which they had in the ‘Halls of Torment of the Inquisition.’ With the advent of Republicanism, the Church delivered to the same a furious blow, for its attitude was pronounced in favor of Spain, supported by an encyclical from the vatican.”*

Up to the inauguration of the reforms introduced by the Juarez and the Lerdo laws, and the constitution of 1857, there could scarcely have been said to be more

* *Biografía de Díaz.*

than two classes among those who were citizens—the Church on one hand and the army on the other—for the numerous mixed and Indian populations were almost wholly unrepresented in the government.

The stranger was reminded of this domain of military and spiritual power by the constant sound of the drum and the bell which rang in his ears from early morn to midnight, drowning the sounds of industry and labor; and by their paraphernalia of show and parade, deeply impressing him that there were no truly Republican influences prevailing around him.

A large standing army was maintained, not to guard the nation against invading foes, but to protect the government, which happened to be in power against the people. During the first thirty-seven years of independent life Mexico had eight or nine distinct forms of government, fifty changes in the office of chief executive, and more than three hundred revolutions. All these changes came from the army and Church combined or singly, or were the patriotic uprisings of the people to resist and overthrow usurping and oppressive administrations which had no better right than the will and ambition of the clergy or the military.

The development of liberal ideas culminated in the enactment of a new constitution on the 5th of February, 1857, which was of surpassing merit for the country. This constitution is the same with certain amendments, which is the fundamental law of Mexico to-day. It was the work of the champions of liberty who had added to their innate patriotism the accumulated wisdom acquired by their experience in the politics of the country for forty-six years of turbulence, revolutions and wars.

The president of the constitutional convention was Valentine Gomez Farias, who had delivered the first blow at the party of the Church in 1833. It was of the same spirit as the constitution of 1824, and was based upon that of the United States, but was much advanced in sentiments of reform. Among its provisions, and those which attracted the hatred and opposition of the clergy, were liberty in teaching, provisions for granting liberty from monastic vows, the liberty without restriction of the tribune and the press, the prohibiting of corporations to possess real estate, the abolition of special privileges and hereditary titles and of special tribunals, the conferring upon the government the right to supervise the affairs of ecclesiastical orders and discipline and the no less important provision that the Roman Catholic religion was not imposed as the religion of the state. It also provided that the president of the supreme court of justice should succeed to the presidency in case of the death, resignation or disqualification of the president.

The Church and the army combined to oppose the new constitution, which was to take effect on the 16th of September, the anniversary of Mexican independence: and they put in force all of their influences to create a reaction against it. So hostile was the attitude of the clergy that it became necessary to arrest the archbishop and others of the higher orders. Their resentment was not in any degree mollified when Iglesias, a member of the cabinet, promulgated a decree prohibiting priests from collecting their ordinary revenues and fees for services and limiting them to just such sums and amounts as were necessary for their maintainance.

The first meeting of the congress held under the

auspices of the new constitution occurred on the 7th of October, 1857. The majority of the members were men of liberal principles, and Juarez was elected to preside. The election for national officers was held and Comonfort was elected to the office of president, having for two years been only provisional executive. Juarez was at the same time elected president of the supreme court of justice.

The new officers entered upon the discharge of their respective duties on the 1st of December, 1857. This was the signal for united hostile action on the part of the clergy and the army, who opposed both the constitution and its official representatives. They had also the co-operation of many civil employees. Their united action caused the president to vacillate. To aid him in his dilemma he called a council of representatives from each state and the first dignitaries of the Church. Under their advice, influence and threats, he revoked the very constitution which he had signed, by which he held his office, and which he had ten days previously sworn to maintain.

Inasmuch as Juarez had been the instigator of the vigorous reform and anti-church policies of Comonfort's administration, the clergy singled him out for special punishment; and the president at their instance caused his arrest and imprisonment, notwithstanding his position as president of the supreme court of justice and constitutional vice-president.

In the place of the constitution Comonfort set up the "Bases of Political Organization of the Mexican Republic," proclaimed by Santa Anna in 1843, as the organic law, thus making a complete surrender to the clerical centralist party. By this timid, weak and

traitorous policy, he lost his relation to the Republicans and, being manifestly unreliable, he failed to satisfy the opposition.

Taking advantage of the timidity and practical errors of Comonfort, the Church party, led by General Zuloaga, started a rebellion at Tacubaya, where he was in command of a part of the army. Comonfort discovered too late the mistake he had made, restored the constitution and released Juarez. He organized the National Guard and tried to suppress the insurrection. Zuloaga received the support of Miramon and others, took the field and captured the capital, the garrison there co-operating with the revolutionists.

Comonfort then resigned the presidency and fled to Vera Cruz. Thence on the 21st of January he took passage for the United States and afterwards sailed for Europe. But he returned to Mexico, became a member of the cabinet of Juarez, followed that officer when he was compelled by the French army to abandon the capital and was traitorously assassinated on the 12th of November, 1863.

CHAPTER XI.

1858 TO 1859.

JUAREZ PRESIDENT—ZULOAGA REVOLUTIONARY CHURCH PRESIDENT — OCCUPIES THE CAPITAL — JUAREZ FLEES TO VERA CRUZ VIA PANAMA AND NEW ORLEANS—BIOGRAPHY OF JUAREZ—ZULOAGA RECOGNIZED BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS—WAR—WAR—WAR—SPIRITUAL VS. CARNAL WEAPONS—CONFISCATIONS.

THE flight of Comonfort and his cabinet from the capital made Zuloaga master of the situation.

Many of the liberal deputies of congress were arrested, others fled to Queretaro, where seventy of them organized a congress under the constitution, recognized Juarez as president, and with all due and legal forms he was installed as constitutional president on the 10th of January, 1858. He appointed a cabinet, organized an army, and proceeded to the discharge of the duties incident to the responsible office.

The deputies of congress who were in accord with the Plan of Tacubaya, and a junta of notables, elected Zuloaga provisional president on the 22d of January. He proceeded to exercise the duties of the office, named a cabinet, annulled the constitution and the ultra-liberal decrees and laws of Comonfort's administration, and ordered the restoration of all goods and property of which the Church had been deprived. He also placed

an army in the field to capture Juarez and break up his government.

Juarez fled to Guanajuato and then to Guadalajara. At the latter place he was taken prisoner by a renegade on the 17th of March, and was sentenced to death. When his capture became known throughout the county it gave great joy to the clergy, as it was considered to be the death blow to Juarez and to liberalism. But their joy was short lived; for before the sentence of death could be executed a military force that was loyal to the president came to the rescue, and the liberated Juarez was enabled to reach the city of Manzanillo, on the Pacific coast, on the 17th of April, when he sailed for and crossed the isthmus of Panama, took ship for New Orleans, and thence sailed for Vera Cruz, where he arrived on the 4th of May, and was cordially received by the governor and other liberals.

The city of Vera Cruz was a strong place, sustained as it was by the castle of Ulua; and being the principal port of Mexico the revenues there collected aided to secure funds wherewith to carry on the war, and to secure arms and munitions from the United States. There Juarez set up his government as the constitutional president of the Mexican republic.

Benito Pablo Juarez was a pure-blood Indian of the Zapoteca tribe. He was born in an adobe house with a dirt floor, in the state of Oaxaca, on the 21st of March, 1806. He became an orphan in early life, his father having died just before and his mother shortly after his birth. At the age of twelve years he could speak only his native tongue, and could neither read nor write. Being a penniless orphan he toiled at boyish occupations, among which was herding cattle.

His industry and intelligence attracted the notice and enlisted the sympathies of a merchant, who placed him in a seminary. He passed with honor the course of studies in that school, when a pious friend, noting his good qualities, proposed to provide for his education for the ecclesiastical profession.

While Juarez appreciated the generous offer, his honesty and patriotism forbade its acceptance. The times were very favorable for education in the politics of the country, as ever since he began his studies there had been a continual series of pronunciamientos, outrages, revolutions and wars; and party zeal had risen to the grade of excessive heat. Hidalgo began his revolution when Juarez was four years of age, Iturbide and Guerrero secured the independence of the country when he was fifteen, Santa Anna issued his first pronunciamiento two years afterward, the war against the Spanish invaders, and the insurrection to overthrow Guerrero, and federalism took place when he was twenty-three, and for four years the country was in a state of general, political and military excitement, and war was almost continuous.

Juarez early in his knowledge of these discussions, excitements and battles, had adopted liberal ideas and principles, and had become the enemy of the ambitious and covetous Church. Under the influence of his very positive political principles he declined to study for the priesthood and decided to become an advocate, or lawyer. Availing himself of all means at command, he received the degree of bachelor of laws in 1832, and at the same time was elected a deputy to the legislature of Oaxaca, his native state. Two years afterwards he received his credentials as *abogado*, or attorney at law.

Thus rapid was the elevation of this humble Indian boy, who at twelve years of age, nearly naked, worked in the mountains, and whose hopes at that time of acquiring education, position and fame were on a par with the cattle which he herded. Twenty-four years after this date he occupied the presidential chair, and could use with energy and eloquence the language of which he knew not a single syllable at the age of twelve years.

Juarez remained through all his life a liberal in politics, and opposed to centralism. His ability, energy and success as a political leader called down upon him the hatred of the Church and such of its friends as were at any time in power; and under such persecution he experienced all the vicissitudes of political life in Mexico, including arrest, imprisonment, sentence of death, escape, exile and amnesty. But all these were compensated by his honors, for in addition to the office of legislator he held that of judge, senator, governor and cabinet minister, before he became by popular election president of the supreme court of justice, and in the line of succession to the presidency, in 1857.

When Santa Anna returned from exile and became president in 1853, he caused the arrest of Juarez, and without giving him time or opportunity to consult his family and friends, sent him to prison at Vera Cruz, and then to Cuba. From there he went to New Orleans, where he lived in poverty for more than a year. But during that time he studied the laws and institutions of the United States, imbibed more fully the spirit of liberty and progress, and was thus better prepared for the work which now fell to him as president of the republic of Mexico. During his exile he also studied the lives of Washington and Bolivar, whom he took as

models, and it is no disparagement to those immortal names to add in the same category that of Juarez, as a world-distinguished statesman and patriot.

In this contest for the constitution, law and order against revolution and the monopoly of a wealthy domineering class, Mexico anticipated the United States by three years. The pure patriot and wise statesman, Juarez, stood as firmly for the welfare of his country at that time as did Lincoln for that of the United States in 1861, and the final results in Mexico in the success of the national cause was not less to the benefit and glory of that country than was the final victory for the constitution, law and order, and the overthrow of a domineering revolutionary class in the United States in 1865.

Zuloaga, however, as provisional president, occupied the capital, and his military forces were in possession of most of the country. With this prestige all of the representatives of foreign governments, including the United States, recognized the government of Zuloaga.

Thus two rival administrations disputed for the control of public affairs. One represented liberal principles with a federal representative system; the other sustained centralism. One was based upon the constitution adopted by the people in a legal manner; the other was a revolution. The centralist cause was supported by the clergy, the wealthy, and the aristocrats of the country; the liberals had the sympathy and aid of the more humble classes. It was a war for the life or the death of each system, and it raged with all the bitterness of a religious war, and was the most sanguinary of all the civil wars in which Mexico had been engaged.

To the arms of the revolutionists was added the spiritual forces of the Church. The clergy launched

anathemas against the liberal chiefs and cause, and published them broadcast. They also from the pulpit and in the confessional excited the fears of the timid and the superstitious.

Juarez met these ecclesiastical assaults with a more powerful and effective force. On the 12th of July, 1859, he published a decree, whereby he confiscated to the government all of the property of the Church. This decree was founded on the fact that the clergy had been the principal supporters of the royalists in the war for independence, and since that time had been the most powerful enemy to liberal principles, and that they had promoted the present civil war with the object of retaining supremacy over civil as well as religious affairs.

This decree devolved upon the nation all of the properties of the clergy, both regular and secular. It also separated the Church and the state, and at the same time conceded to all religious sects the right to establish and teach their doctrines, publicly and without restraint. By this decree the clergy were restricted to such compensation for their services as should be voluntarily bestowed by their parishioners; and the Church was prohibited the right to possess real estate. It also dissolved absolutely all religious orders and communities, as being contrary to the public morals and welfare; and it declared that matrimony should be considered a civil contract, freed from the rules and expenses imposed by the clergy, which had in their exercise tended to corrupt the morals of the country.

This decree originally and primarily had for its object the control of the many evils which existed, and was issued to that end in good faith, but in addition it proved a strong political arm to assist the liberal cause.

The stand taken by Juarez to dispossess the Church of property, revenues, power and influence, was not the result of any change in his religious faith. He was born, reared, lived and died a Roman Catholic. He never had assistance in the way of counsel or advice from a Protestant. In early life he had seen the baleful results of having the affairs of state controlled by the Church.

The vicious greed for wealth and power inherent in all political corporations was fully developed in the Roman Catholic church in their many years of experience and dominion in Europe, wherein kings and kingdoms had been made and destroyed, through the exercise of the temporal power, which also had given opportunity to levy vast tribute and thereby the clergy of that church had been fully prepared to take possession of the spoils offered in the occupation of Mexico. For more than three centuries the resources of that rich country had been drawn upon to their utmost, and the Church in Mexico and in the mother country had, therefrom, luxuriated in adorned cathedrals, churches and chapels, with all the paraphernalia of its imposing ceremonies, while the priests, bishops and archbishops had enjoyed personal and physical benefits, had in fact become—like their class the world over—fat as stall-fed cattle, and realized the comforts of ease, wealth, luxury and idleness in the richest exuberance.

Aside from their princely holdings of real estate, the revenues and incomes resulting from their ministerial pay amounted to \$13,000,000 annually, and the archbishop managed to keep the wolf from the door of his domestic domicile, wherein no wife could overdraw his income by her personal or social ambitions in the

way of equipage, dress, adornments or entertainments, by having apportioned as his share one-third of the gross amount, giving him the princely income of \$11,000 a day.

The poor Indian orphan boy, Juarez, had learned of these facts, for they were facts of the centuries, taught by legend and deeply impressed upon the aborigines by the confirming testimony of observation and experience. He had seen the wealth and pomp which surrounded the sacerdotal profession, the superstitious reverence bestowed upon all that pertained to the Church; and with age and education he saw with pain the fact that so perverted were the noble intuitions which once inspired the natives, that they now kissed the hands which had enslaved and despoiled them, and that genuine love and blind faith were the motives which prompted their continual bestowments, and that nothing within their power was withheld from the Church and its ministers.

To his logical mind there should have been some adequate return for all these bestowments by the people. He saw that they were instructed in pious processes, could say their prayers and perform their religious ceremonies in a foreign and to them unintelligible tongue, could cross themselves and reverence all consecrated persons and places. He saw that some of the favored or talented were more extensively educated, especially when they had the means to recompense their instructors.

He saw more, and that was that the officials of the Church had usurped the control of political affairs, that they had set up and sustained state officials who were in favor of centralism, and that they had opposed and

overthrown all who were in favor of popular rights, education and equality.

While he had occasion, had his ambition and vanity prompted it to thank them for the overthrow of the patriot, Comoufort, which act made him president, he was painfully aware that they were his enemies, even to death.

But the greedy and corrupt Church had met her match and the end proved that she had met her fate. The fearless, stubborn, incorruptible Indian president was a practical statesman and patriot, if not a practical soldier, and so presented and sustained the rights of his office and the principles of his decrees in councils of state and on fields of contest from the time of their issuance in 1859 to 1872, the time of his death, that they were incorporated in the constitution by amendment in 1873, and they are still the fundamental law of Mexico, with no tendency to their repeal.

Although the Liberals were few in number, the good qualities of their leader and president had captured the confidence and fealty of the people, as he offered liberty from the oppressions of the clergy and the rich proprietors of the lands. The result was a repetition of the grand popular movement of 1810, when the multitudes flocked to the standard of Hidalgo and his successors, though the circumstances were vastly changed. Then it was a movement to overthrow the government; now, it was to sustain the government and the constitution. Then the leader was of a vacillating disposition who, when he had the City of Mexico in sight and at his feet, lacked the decision of character to secure the prize and establish his principles in the form of a new

government. Now the leader was a man of stubborn will with clear perceptions and established policies.

The army of Juarez was re-enforced by guerillas from the plains and the mountains. When defeated in one action, they dispersed, only to reunite on other fields. With no baggage trains nor artillery they



JUAREZ.

effected rapid and secret movements. With success their numbers increased, and eventually by capture and purchase they had all the required munitions of war and secured final victory.

The army of Zuloaga was large and well com-

manded and had for a time abundant means supplied from the coffers of the Church.

Inasmuch as the wealth of the country was concentrated in the hands of the Church, it was largely from that source that the armies in the field secured financial aid. To the revolutionists, as the party upon which the Church depended for further power, assistance was cheerfully extended. But the Liberals were also necessitous, and the following from the Spanish history of the times will show to some extent their method of supplying their wants.

“Stimulated more and more by necessity the Liberals were not limited in their efforts to secure funds from real estate, tithes and other sources, but boldly possessed themselves of the ornaments and sacred images and vases from the altars. At first this caused no small fear at the crime which had been perpetrated, imbued as the people had been from their childhood with superstitious reverence; and a cry of horror was raised by all classes, particularly by the Conservatives, who threatened the perpetrators with divine wrath as the consequence of their sacrilege. However, as none of the threatened vengeance from heaven followed, the people little by little had their fears dissipated, and as the profanations filled the Liberal treasury, it also served to dispel the odor of sanctity which surrounded the sacred temples.” * * * *

“The Conservatives, seeing the exemption from the threatened consequences, were emboldened; and they also, but with limited excesses, replenished their treasuries from the same sources, when excessively necessitous ”

CHAPTER XII.

1859 TO 1860.

CONTINUED WAR—EXECUTIVE CHANGES WITH REVOLUTIONISTS—DEFEAT OF CENTRALISM—JUAREZ ENTERS THE CAPITAL IN TRIUMPH—NO CHURCH RECEPTION NOR TE DEUM.

WHEN Juarez left the Pacific coast in April, 1858, he disclosed his plans to no one. So his appearance at Vera Cruz was a great surprise to all. He took with him no army, and when he issued his proclamations, the chief force behind him was the moral power which attached to the office of president in its relation to the constitution. This was counteracted by the manifest success of the revolution, based upon the plan of Tacubaya, the occupancy of the capital by Zuloaga as provisional president, and the victories of the revolutionists in the field.

The Revolutionary or Conservative army occupied most of the central states with no very considerable constitutional army to oppose. The northern states apparently were taking no part in the struggle, and there remained to Juarez only a small part of the state of Vera Cruz, as Orizaba and Jalapa, cities which controlled the roads and mountain passes into the interior, were in the hands of the Conservatives. But when the information that Juarez had established his government at Vera Cruz and had declared his plan of contest

was made known throughout the country, the old Liberals and Constitutionals in all parts began to organize for his support.

Under the influence of Liberal generals armies of greater or less proportions were mustered and put into the field to operate upon the most feasible plans presented to effect the purpose of securing the success of Juarez and the constitution.

The lines were closely drawn and all the horrors of fratricidal war with its sanguinary reprisals were perpetrated. It became a rule, followed on all occasions, to put to death all chiefs and important persons who were unfortunate enough to be captured, and often the privates from the ranks suffered the same fate. Cities were captured and recaptured, alternately suffering spoliation with each change of military masters.

Seeing his opportunity General Blanco, a Liberal commander, made a raid upon the City of Mexico in October, captured the place and sacked some of the rich convents, but he was met by superior numbers and obliged to retire with loss. In November Perote fell into the hands of the Conservatives, who promptly executed all persons of rank there captured. The results of the year's campaign were greatly in favor of the Conservatives and the prospects of Juarez were indeed gloomy.

Zuloaga gave command to concentrate forces upon Vera Cruz for its capture and depended upon Echeagaray, governor of the state of Puebla, to carry the order into effect. But that officer who had given reluctant support to the plan of Tacubaya, instead of moving against the city of Vera Cruz, on the 20th of December, 1858, pronounced against any further war-

fare, declaring that whichever party succeeded by war, it all resulted in irreparable injury to the commonwealth of Mexico. He therefore issued a call for a convention, to be composed of deputies from the several states which should form a new constitution and elect a president in the interest of peace.

The army at the capital gave support to this call, and it all resulted in the selecting of Robles Pezuela as provisional president. Zuloaga graciously yielded to this movement and the convention proceeded with its work under Pezuela as presiding officer.

These proceedings suspended the proposed attack upon Vera Cruz, which was certainly of great benefit to Juarez, who was not prepared for it. It was considered by many Conservatives at the time that this action of Echeagaray was at the instigation of Juarez himself, as it was his policy to have emissaries constantly in the enemies camps and councils.

When the constitutional convention finished its work in January, 1859, it elected General Miramon president and Robles Pezuela vice-president. Miramon, who was in command of the troops in the field, went to the capital and declared that the army was in honor bound to support Zuloaga who, if he had failed in any matter, should not be held to account as it was for want of support from Echeagaray and others.

He therefore declared Zuloaga still to be president and returned to the army in the field. Zuloaga, however, feeling that he was placed in a false position, declined the further exercise of the duties of the office eight days afterwards, appointed Miramon as his substitute, and retired to private life. Miramon, probably foreseeing the course that Zuloaga would take, named

his cabinet, ordered a forced loan of 1 per cent upon all the property in the country and moved immediately against Vera Cruz, deeming the possession of that city and the capture of Juarez, or the dispersal of his government of the greatest importance. He there, on the 16th of February, concentrated his forces for the attack.

In the meantime English and French squadrons had appeared in the harbor at Vera Cruz, making demand for the payment of so much of the national debt of Mexico as was due to citizens of their respective countries and indemnity for outrages. Juarez made promises of ample satisfaction, which relieved him in that matter, and then turned his attention to the military assaults of Miramon, which were actively begun on the 12th of March.

Notwithstanding the resistance made by the constitutional forces, it seemed that the city must yield, when fortunately the assulting forces suddenly abandoned their positions and marched for the capital. The cause of this retreat was that the Liberals had gained some victories in the north and center, and with concentrated forces were marching rapidly upon the capital with the double purpose of capturing that city and relieving Juarez.

The garrison of the city was surprised by the sudden appearance at its front of 8,000 men. But the Liberal general in command neglected to enter and contented himself with fortifying at Tacubaya and Chapultepec. In the meantime re-enforcements came to the relief of the Conservatives, who were then enabled to take the field and attack the enemy. The result was the defeat of the Liberals, who lost a great part of their artillery.

Miramón arrived on the field at the close of the

battle and assumed to himself credit for the victory, sacrificed the lives of all the officers who had been taken prisoners and at the same time, to the great disgrace of himself and his officers, put to death many medical students who were voluntarily assisting in the care of the wounded on the field. Taking advantage of the withdrawal of troops from many central points for the relief of the capital, the Liberals captured and sacked many cities and strongholds.

The Spanish citizens who resided in Tampico made complaint to their government that they had sustained losses in the nature of forced loans and outrages at the hands of the contending Mexican factions in their internecine struggles. To secure a reparation for such outrages, a Spanish vessel of war appeared at Vera Cruz, demanding satisfaction and guarantees. These demands were complied with by Juarez, as far as possible, with promises and diplomacy. About the same time the Miramon administration entered into a treaty with Spain, through the Spanish minister and General Almonte, whereby demands of Spanish subjects for reclamations, outrages and compulsory loans agreed to under the Santa Anna regime in 1853, were assumed by the Mexican government, and negotiations were begun by which assistance was to be rendered the Miramon administration in the nature of a European protectorate over Mexico.

These measures were strongly opposed by the minister from the United States, who declared the existence and vitality of the "Monroe Doctrine." In April, 1859, the United States withdrew its recognition from the revolutionary government and transferred it to Juarez. This was a great aid to him in its moral force

and materially assisted him in securing loans, arms, munitions and troops, and gave encouragement throughout Mexico to the loyal people and developed support to the constitutional government.

In October, 1859, Miramon made a loan through a banking house, the head of which, originally a native of Switzerland, had become a naturalized French citizen. This loan was for the sum of \$15,000,000, and subsequent developments show that it was a part of a scheme laid in view of the possible failure of the Church party in their fight against Juarez and the constitutional government, whereby they could call the aid of the French emperor and army to finally establish centralism in Mexico.

The holy alliance, the Latin union and the governments in Europe, whose sovereigns were Roman Catholics, had been fully apprised of the issues and of their opportunities by emissaries who for years had been at work at home and abroad to secure the overthrow of Republicanism and the establishment of centralism, and when the time came they were not delinquent as reinforcements.

The last part of 1859 was dark for the Juarez troops. During the year they had victories and defeats in various parts of the country, but at its close they were most frequently defeated. Seventy or more battles had been fought since the commencement of the war in which the Liberals had been defeated in more than three-fourths of the engagements. Still their forces were tenacious and inspired with hope when they remembered that it took ten years to secure the independence of the country. The motto of Juarez was: "Thus we go from defeat to defeat on to ultimate victory."

Miramón was an inspiring genius to the Conservatives and a good general in the field who kept his forces compact. The clergy never failed him, and in their ecclesiastical offices and opportunities endeavored to inaugurate a religious crusade; and in turn the bishops and other clergy of high order and influence were subjected to extortion, and in some cases to banishment from their fields of duty as acts of retaliation on the part of the Liberals.

Miramón had success in the north and the east in 1859, so to complete the work he made preparations to attack Vera Cruz. He sent to Havana and purchased two steam vessels and loaded them with materials of war. They were to bombard the city from the gulf while he operated by land. He concentrated 7,000 men near the city in February, and early in March the ships of war appeared at the port, freighted with supplies. The squadrons from other nations were reluctant to give place to the trespassers, as they were considered semi-piratical, not having papers for their class or purpose.

At the request of Juárez the commander of the United States squadron sought to examine into the regularity of their papers, when he was fired on. Deeming this act sufficient to subject the matter to further inquiry, he seized the ships and took them to New Orleans as prizes. On final investigation they were released, as was expected by Juárez; but their hostile attacks, notwithstanding, were avoided; and for want of their aid and the materials of war which they conveyed, Miramón failed in the attack.

On the seizure of the ships the commander of the British squadron offered his mediation in the interest of the merchants of the city, whose loss would be serious

and unavoidable in case of bombardment. At his suggestion an armistice was agreed to, and an assembly of prominent citizens of Mexico was convened to consider some plan whereby the contest could be settled.

This assembly proposed to call a convention of representatives from the several states to form a new constitution, that should be submitted to a vote of the people with a provisional government in the interim. Juarez took the ground that the country had a constitution and a government, and he insisted on calling a congress, according to the constitution of 1857.

This being his ultimatum, Miramon announced the commencement of a vigorous prosecution of the siege and bombardment. Accordingly, he used all of his materials of war upon the city from pure malice, as he had no intention to assault. Having exhausted his ammunition and suffered much from want of supplies and from sickness among his troops, he abandoned his positions on the 21st of March and moved toward the capital, ordering his officers to their old posts throughout the country.

This retreat from Vera Cruz inspired the liberals with new life and hopes; and under a vigorous system of operations, many cities were captured and many states fully occupied. Miramon was, however, not idle, and after his retreat from Vera Cruz he made preparations to open the campaign against the liberals in the center and north.

Just at this time Zuloaga proclaimed his resumption of the presidency, basing the act upon the fact that Miramon, who was but his substitute, had exceeded his authority in negotiating the loan from the Swiss-French house. But the truth of the matter was, he wished to

regain the power and office from which he had been displaced; and deemed the present time, when Miramon was suffering in reputation from his reverse at Vera Cruz, to be a proper opportunity, he accordingly improved it and resumed his office. But his plans were not laid with wisdom, as Miramon had not become unpopular, nor had he himself secured the confidence of his party nor the people.

Miramón, active as ever, moved rapidly to the capital at the head of the army, and after a personal altercation with Zuloaga, arrested him, and then continued his march against the enemy, carrying the prisoner with him. This conduct on the part of each showed that the loyalty of Miramon and the abnegation of Zuloaga, as exhibited a year previously, were founded in deceit and insincerity.

The diplomatic corps in Mexico sustained Zuloaga, as the true president, the one with whom they had transacted all business in the interest of their respective countries. The Spanish minister took action to sustain him and thus conserve the peace of the country and secure the benefits which resulted from dealing with the president, and not a substitute, in which relation he viewed the position of Miramon. But it was all in vain, and only laid the foundation for radical action on the part of Miramon a few months afterwards, when he made a forced loan.

With the captive Zuloaga under arrest, Miramon and the army arrived at Leon, where the prisoner made his escape. Miramon, not knowing the whereabouts or intentions of the fugitive, lost no time in submitting the matter at issue to the president of the supreme court of justice, Don José Ignacio Pavón. He in turn took the

opinion of the councils of the states, and Miramon was declared to be the president. Miramon then with a gracious spirit turned the executive office over to the president of the court, as had been done in similar cases before. That officer immediately convened representatives from the states which had been parties to the election of president in January, 1859, and which had put into force the principles of the conservative party. This body, by a vote of nineteen to four, favored Miramon, who was then declared to be president, to the exclusion of Zuloaga.

Miramón in the meantime, with an army of 7,000 men, marched upon Siloa, where General Jesus Gonzalez Ortega had concentrated the liberal forces. A battle took place on the 10th of August, when Miramon was defeated with the loss of all his artillery and trains, and the capture of many generals, colonels and other officers, together with a great part of his army. The star of Miramon was becoming obscured.

However, when he returned to the capital he was received as if a victor, and he immediately took the oath of office as president under the new election. Zuloaga was again permitted to retire to private life.

Ortega having defeated Miramon, prepared to move upon the capital. In anticipation of final success he issued a circular, directed to the representatives of foreign governments in the City of Mexico, in which he made known his determination to occupy the capital; he also informed them that under no pretext would any reclamations be allowed for supplies furnished or loans made to the conservatives.

The situation of the conservatives was indeed critical, as only three grand centers of population were now

under their control—Guadalajara, Puebla, and the City of Mexico; and they were also seriously divided by factions. That he might leave no hostile force in his rear Ortega moved upon Guadalajara, and after a siege of some weeks reduced that place, when he marched with his united army upon the City of Mexico. He directed his march to the eastward, so as to interpose between the capital and Vera Cruz.

Intrepid as ever, Miramon displayed the same energetic spirit by which he had sustained himself until the present time in his meteoric career. Notwithstanding that he was surrounded by people who were filled with consternation, he redoubled his efforts to maintain a cause which was at the point of collapse. He secured funds by forced loans and sequestrations, and had no regard for safeguards furnished by ministers of foreign countries. He moved to the field with a new army, composed of the troops taken from surrounding garrisons. At Toluca he gained a victory over Beriozable, and captured General Degollado and the citizen-statesman, Gomez Farias.

Inspired by these successes Miramon determined to march against Ortega, who had concentrated 16,000 men and had more than forty pieces of artillery. To confront this force, he had but little more than half that number of men. The armies met in the final battle at Calpulalpan; and after an engagement, which lasted from the 21st to the 23d of December, Miramon was defeated, to the utter destruction of his hopes and the overthrow of the cause of centralism. He returned rapidly to the capital, turned civil affairs over to the local officers, and made his escape to the coast, where he took refuge on board a French vessel of war.

The victorious constitutional army, which was now increased to 25,000 men, marched immediately for the capital, which it entered on the 27th of December. It was received with applause by the citizens, who had adorned the streets and houses with garlands; and the heroes were greeted with a perfect rain of flowers.

On the 1st day of January, 1861, President Juarez arrived at the capital, and his welcome was a grand ovation, and such a one as was due to the president of the republic of Mexico. It was notable, however, that the Church greeted him with no imposing ceremonies, and no *Te Deum* was let loose.



CHAPTER XIII.

1860 TO 1863.

JUAREZ IN THE CAPITAL.—ELECTED PRESIDENT—ENFORCES REFORMS—SUPPRESSES RELIGIOUS ORDERS
 JEWELS TO TREASURY—BELLS TO FOUNDRY—PICTURES TO ACADEMY OF ART—PUBLIC DEBT—PAYMENT SUSPENDED—TREATY OF LONDON—ALLIED OCCUPATION—SPANISH AND ENGLISH WITHDRAWN—FRENCH REMAIN—CINCO DE MAYO—FRENCH DEFEATED—PUEBLA FINALLY CAPTURED.

THE triumphant entrance of Juarez into the capital was full evidence of the overthrow of centralism and the establishment of Republicanism as the organic and fundamental principle of government. This the people of Mexico had decided in the most emphatic and unmistakable manner. The lines had been closely drawn, the issues made up, the forces, both civil and military mustered, and the battle fought to a finish. The Church had lost and the state had won.

With an honest desire that the full results of victory might be decreed and decided by civil processes as well as on the field of battle, Juarez called an election for president in accordance with the constitution. His tenure of office was in a sense accidental, and he determined not to hold it longer unless the people by an ex-

pression of their wishes, made in accordance with the organic law, so decided. It was in the issue that the election of Juarez for president meant the enforcement of his decrees of July, 1859, published at Vera Cruz.

Juarez was elected, took the oath of office, and as instructed at the polls proceeded immediately to the sequestration of Church property and to the disbanding of ecclesiastical societies. Monasteries were closed and the members of the various religious orders and societies were expelled from the country, force being used when necessary. Bells were taken from church towers and sent to foundries to be cast into cannon for the use of the state. Jewels and massive chandeliers of gold and silver were converted into money for the treasury, and pictures were sent to the San Carlos Academy of Art. Buildings were sold and streets were opened through church property for the use of the public. It is estimated that from the property thus sequestered the government secured the sum of \$20,000,000.

The era of reform had fully come, and though the measures were radical they had been called for, first by reason of the extortions to which the people had been subjected by the insatiable greed of the clergy for centuries, and second by the decrees of war and of civil procedure. That which came to the public treasury was only a small part, a mere tithe of what had been wrongfully taken from the people.

This struggle between the constitutional government and the Church party and its allies is known in Mexican history by the name of the "War of the Reform," and has made "La Reforma" a favorite appellation. By it the outreaching power, influence and domination of the Church was suppressed and the

supremacy of the state and of the people was assured. The constitutional reforms which took place at that time are annually celebrated in Mexico on the 5th of February, and as a perpetual memorial of the beneficent era, the beautiful Paseo which extends from the center of the city to Chapultepec, though planned and laid out by the Emperor Maximilian, has been adopted by the people to show by its use and beauty that grand time in the history of the country. It is now called the "Paseo de la Reforma."

But the Church party had allies who were not citizens of Mexico, who when needed came to its aid. The oft recurring matter of the foreign debt came up again, and inasmuch as the Juarez government was fully established, and its acts and decisions would be final and binding, it became a duty to examine carefully into any and all claims presented for payment.

The English had from the first days of independence been the creditors of Mexico, and the alleged amount due to or claimed by citizens of England was about \$30,000,000. Spain had some claims, mainly those acknowledged by Miramon, while French citizens held the loan negotiated by Miramon and other demands of doubtful nature. Many of these claims were originated as a part of a deep-laid scheme, whereby friends of the holy alliance could have foundation for basing the necessity and propriety of an European intervention in the affairs of Mexico, under the mask of business and financial negotiations and demands. The total amount claimed by citizens of the named nations was about \$100,000,000.

That he might have time to investigate these claims and secure funds for the payment of such as should be

proved to be just, Juarez, soon after he was established in the executive department in the City of Mexico, by direction of congress issued a decree in which he suspended payment upon the foreign debt for the term of two years.

About the same time the French minister, Saligny, claimed that he was the victim of an attempted assault by being fired at while seated on the terrace before the French legation, and assuming that it was an intentional offense, demanded his passports. England and Spain also suspended diplomatic relations with Mexico.

Napoleon III., emperor of France, then proceeded to execute a plan which for many years had prevailed in his intentions, and in which he had been encouraged by emissaries from Mexico, some of them representing the centralist government directly, and some the Church interest alone. Among the number was one Senor Jose Maria Gutierrez de Estrada, who in 1840 left Mexico as an exile for having disagreed with the republican, and suggested an imperial form of government. Another was Labastida, bishop of Puebla, whom Comonfort had exiled for the part which he took in a revolution in 1856.

To these it was clear that Juarez would continue his republican policies and thereby insure the political death of the clerical party. It meant primary education of the people, a long forbidden right, as enforced in clerical rule, the recognition of the political rights of each individual which had been held by the clergy as "a damnable heresy," the disestablishment of the Church, the encouragement of immigration, and therewith the dissemination of independent thought; all of which was a program of progress which was sure to prove the deathblow to ecclesiastical dominion.

By processes not fully disclosed except in the accomplishment, the Church in Europe concentrated upon a plan of action wherein the French emperor took the initiative in the conspiracy which was to result in the overthrow of Republicanism and the establishment of an empire in Mexico which, while it would be in some degree feudatory to France, would as a much more desirable object assist the Latin race in the struggle with the Anglo Saxon, sustain Catholicism and prevent the further spread of Democratic doctrines and institutions in America.

The time chosen to put this scheme into operation was certainly most propitious. The United States was then engaged in civil war, and to the view of the European conspirators, the confederates would succeed in the contest. When that consummation, so devoutly hoped for should be realized, the Confederate States government was to be the ally of the proposed empire, as against the United States and its international policies.

Or if the government at Washington should be maintained and no separation of the Union take place, the war would so absorb the attention and military resources of the country that the Catholic-Latin empire coming out of and closely related to the courts of Europe could be organized and firmly consolidated, and thus the influence of the United States be effectually checked towards the south.

Napoleon, however, did not at the time disclose his schemes nor his allies therein, but acted on the plausible business pretext presented in the fact that the debtor nation, Mexico, had refused to provide for the payment of its obligations. At his instance a convention of rep-

representatives, from the three creditor nations, was held in London. The result was the "Treaty of London," signed on the 31st of October, 1861. The treaty provided for the concentration of a military and naval force sufficient to possess and hold all ports of entry on the Gulf of Mexico, and to collect and apply the revenues to the payment of the claims of citizens of the three blockading nations. It was also stipulated that no attempt should be made to interfere with the government nor the territory of Mexico.

A copy of the treaty was sent to the government of the United States with a request for its co-operation; but the secretary of state gave a very decided reply, in which it was not only announced that the project was distasteful to the president, but also a violation of the international policy of the union.

Regardless, however, of the views of the American executive, as well as the policies of the nation, the allied forces under command of the Spanish marshal, Prim, landed at Vera Cruz in December, 1861, and proceeded to carry out the proposed plans. There were 800 British, 2,600 French, and 6,200 Spanish troops, constituting a combined army of 9,600 men.

Coincident with the landing of the allies at Vera Cruz, there returned to Mexico a number of the former leaders of the clerical party, who, assured and emboldened by the presence of the allied army, proclaimed the secret of their foreign mission and its ends, and thus announced the conspiracy which had up to that time remained locked up in the minds of a few. They disclosed the plan of an empire, with the Archduke Maximilian on the throne. This called for a letter of opposition

from Prim and a protest from the Mexican minister at Paris, with a demand for his passports.

Juarez well knew that the fortress of San Juan de Ulua could not successfully resist the allied bombardment and assaults. He therefore withdrew, and concentrated his armies in the interior; and to avoid hostilities if possible, resorted to diplomacy. When the deliberating parties first met they were made aware of the facts in the case and of the plans of Juarez, and preliminary terms were proposed by which the debts of Mexico could be funded to the end of final payment. It was then clearly developed that Napoleon had other schemes and other plans than those presented in the convention held in London. These facts, together with the inflexible determination exhibited by Juarez, caused the Spanish representatives to vacillate. Finally in April Prim with the Spanish squadron retired from the enterprise. The English followed the example of Spain in a few days, but not until they had secured a valuable business arrangement with Mexico. So ended the triple alliance.

When it became manifest to Juarez that the French would continue their hostile invasion he exerted himself to the utmost; and appeals were made to all Mexicans to lay aside for the time their differences; and to unite against the common enemy. The army was put in the best state of organization, and funds were raised to prepare for a long contest. A decree was issued on January 25, 1862, in which the president declared that all citizens of Mexico between the ages of sixteen and sixty who did not take up arms in defense of the country were traitors. That any armed invasion of Mexico without a previous declaration of war, or any invitation of such an

invasion by citizens or foreigners residing in the country, was a crime against the independence of the nation, and would be punished with death. Civil officers were given extraordinary powers over the property of citizens, courts-martial were provided to take the place of ordinary tribunals and processes, and severe penalties were laid against Mexicans who entered the service of the invaders. By circulars addressed to foreign nations Juarez declared that the proposed empire was an infraction of the rights of the nation, and a pretext by which Mexico should be transformed into a colony of France.

The withdrawal of the English and Spanish troops changed the aspect of the enterprise; and instead of an intervention it became an invasion without a previous declaration of war, and all attempts at concealment or evasion were thrown off. General Laurencez was placed in command of about 5,000 French troops, while Generals Marquez and Mejia, who had served with the armies of Zuloaga and Miramon, took command of the Mexican force, which was in sympathy with the invaders. These combined armies took position at Cordoba and Orizaba.

The French officers spoke boldly of having come to the country to suppress republican anarchy and to establish a throne. On the 16th of April a proclamation appeared, convoking all Mexicans who sympathized with the intervention, and inviting them to place themselves under the standard then being raised by the most liberal people of Europe, and at the same time denying all intentions to make war against the Mexican nation. Emissaries were sent among the Mexicans to create hostility to the government; and on the 19th of April a

pronunciameinto was issued, renouncing the authority of Juarez and declaring in favor of Almonte, who in turn issued his manifesto, in which he appealed to his fellow-citizens to give aid in the establishment, with the help of the French, of a government which should be stable, dignified and worthy of confidence.

General Laurencez organized an army of 6,000 soldiers, and marched upon Puebla. The Mexican army which held that city was commanded by General Ignacio Zaragoza, who was now prominently brought to public notice and honor. A battle was fought within and around the city on the 5th of May, 1862. The French were badly defeated, and retreated to Orizaba. This first battle and first victory brought to the front many distinguished Mexicans, one of them being General Porfirio Diaz, who in after years took part in the wars and politics of Mexico, and who has become the idol of all true Mexican patriots and statesmen. This victory on the "Cinco de Mayo," the 5th of May, is annually commemorated as a national holiday in Mexico.

By this defeat Napoleon saw that the establishment of an empire in Mexico was a more serious undertaking than he had at first imagined. But he placed the forces under the command of General Forey, increased their number with French re-enforcements, and directed the general to accept and organize a Mexican contingent. He directed him also to set up a form of provisional government, and to give the people assurance that the government would be based on a new political system. But he also instructed the general so to conduct his civil procedures that the French would be in the ascendant.

Forey well understood what was expected of him,

and in September he published broadcast a manifesto, in which he claimed that the government of Juarez was a tyranny, and that he had come to destroy it in the interest of progress and civilization. He also restricted the assumptions of Almonte who, as provisional president, had not pleased the people or satisfied the clergy. In fact the general assumed a decided military dictatorship over the country.

In January, 1863, Forey marched into the interior; and, on the 16th of March, appeared before Puebla with an army of 26,000 men. Zaragoza having died in the meantime, General Ortega was in command of the Mexican forces, numbering 22,000 men. He placed the city in the best state of defense on all sides, and awaited the attack.

The French general, knowing well the stuff of which the Mexican soldier was made, avoided for a time a direct attack, and adopted the Fabian policy of waiting. So he did not make his first movement until the 26th. From that day the siege and assault continued until the 17th of May, when the white flag was displayed as a signal of surrender. The remaining force, which yielded to the French army, was 12,500 men. So tenacious, courageous, and desperate was the garrison that they had consumed horses, mules and dogs as rations; and it was only when absolutely nothing edible remained that they laid down their arms. Their last ration consisted of a decoction of orange leaves. Famine did much to aid the French arms.

CHAPTER XIV.

1863 TO 1864.

JUAREZ FLEES THE CAPITAL.—FRENCH OCCUPATION—
MANIFESTOS—REGENCIES—NOTABLES—MEXICO A
HEREDITARY MONARCHY—MAXIMILLIAN CHOSEN
EMPEROR—TERMS AND CONDITIONS—CORONATION
IN AUSTRIA—VISITS PIUS IX.—BENEDICTION—
CHURCH SUPERIOR TO STATE—MAXIMILLIAN IN
MEXICO — MONROE DOCTRINE — VIOLATED BY
ROMAN CATHOLICS—AMERICANS CANNOT FORGET
IT.

AFTER the fall of Puebla the French army moved upon the capital. Juarez was disposed to make resistance, but the fact that only 14,000 men were at his command caused the evacuation of the city, which took place on the 31st of May, 1863. The government was transferred to Queretaro, and afterwards to San Luis Potosi. Upon the removal of the government the conservatives assumed command in the capital and openly declared for French intervention.

On the 10th of June General Forey entered the city, and on the 12th he published a manifesto in which he proclaimed his occupation of the capital, and gave much advice to Mexicans as to their political affairs in which the words "concord," "fraternity" and

“patriotism” were interspersed with great profusion. Although he promised much more than lay in human power to fulfill, he asserted that after nearly half a century of republican anarchy, any kind of a governmental change would be for the welfare of the country. On the 16th of the month he appointed, a supreme council of the nation, which consisted of thirty-five avowed monarchists.

This council elected three regents, who were Generals Almonte and Salas and the Archbishop Labastida, he having been exiled a bishop but returned an archbishop, bold with the aid of French troops to enter the field of politics in the interest of the empire and the Church. This junta selected 215 citizens, regardless of rank or place of residence, who were called the “Assembly of Notables,” and were charged with the duty of formulating a new government. This assembly met for the first time on the 8th of July, and on the 10th made their report, in which they declared for a limited monarchy in the form of a hereditary empire, with the Archduke Maximilian of Austria for emperor, and with the proviso that if that prince should decline the crown, then the Emperor Napoleon III. of France should have the right to select some other Catholic prince to occupy the throne of the new empire.

His selection for this imperial honor and power was not the end of any ambitious scheme on the part of Maximilian, but was clearly the result of the ambition of the French emperor and his wish to respond to the emissaries of the Church from Mexico, supported by the same organization in Europe. Napoleon also wished to reinstate himself with the pope of Rome and with the house of Hapsburg, with both of whom he was in bad

odor. So he entered into this scheme to give an imperial crown to a scion of that Catholic house, and it is more than probable that the arrangements were all made before the signing of the treaty of London.

Maximilian was the brother of Francis Joseph, emperor of Austria; and as one of that family was at birth endowed with titles, among which he boasted "Archduke of Austria," "Prince of Hungary," of Bohemia and Lorrena and "Count of Hapsburg." He was married to Carlote, daughter of Leopold I. of Belgium, and was at the time of his selection in his thirty-second year.

Though liberally educated and somewhat extensively traveled, he had not developed marked ability, nor had he held important offices. Under the circumstances and as sadly shown in his career and death, he was but a puppet in the hands of a strategic meddler in the affairs of Europe and America. It is said that he was pressed by his creditors and very much disgusted with his prospects for position and revenue and gladly accepted the proffered crown.

Still he knew of the existence of the republic, of the inflexible character of Juarez, of the prowess of the Mexican soldiers who had defeated the well-armed and commanded French troops in one battle, and had gained credit by their fight against superior numbers in another. He also knew that the United States government was opposed to the whole scheme. Therefore when the formal tender of the crown of the empire of Mexico was made to him in October, 1863, by the representatives of the assembly of notables at the palace of Miramar, he declared his willingness to accept the same when the citizens of Mexico should in a general elec-

tion ratify the act of the notables, and when the nations of Europe should guarantee protection from any dangers which might threaten his throne.

The combined Franco-Mexican armies at that time on duty in Mexico numbered 48,000 men, all under command of Marshal Bazaine, and they occupied most of the states of the country. Bazaine was always the devoted servant of Napoleon, and he cheerfully furnished returns which showed that Maximilian was the choice of the people. Napoleon took it upon himself to furnish the demanded military force, and in the "Treaty of Miramar" promised to maintain the French army in Mexico until the empire was self-sustaining; and to that end 8,000 troops were to remain in the country for six years and the empire was to be guarded from invasions by the United States.

"I, Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, swear to God by the Holy Scriptures, to insure by every means within my power the peace and prosperity of the nation, to defend its independence and to maintain the integrity of its territory." Such was the oath to which Maximilian gave signature in the imposing ceremonies of his coronation which took place at the archducal palace of Miramar in Austria, on the 10th of April, 1864. The Mexican flag was unfurled above the castle tower while twenty-one guns pealed their awful and prophetic roar across the placid waters of the Adriatic, and the ready and co-operative church choir sang their inevitable *Te Deum*. The Mexican delegation was moved even to tears under the combined influences and exercises.

No Catholic prince so fully and gratifyingly inducted into the higher order of potentates so fully charged with the double duty of overthrowing a re-

public, and on the ruins thereof erecting an empire, committed to the resurrecting and maintaining of Catholic and clerical dominance, would think of proceeding to his work without the papal benediction. Therefore, and as he was a "Grace of God" sovereign "by right divine," Maximilian made a pilgrimage to Rome to receive the required blessing.

All that there transpired will never be made public, as the fiasco of the enterprise which so soon ended it all to the discredit of the conspiring European powers, and in the death of the deceived emperor placed the seal of silence upon many lips and closed hermetically the records of contemporary history. But while administering the communion to the emperor, his holiness, Pius IX., while presenting the host used these pregnant words: "Great are the rights of nations and they must be heeded, but greater and more sacred are the rights of the Church." Significant and ominous words are these, and therein is couched the papal view of the rights of nations and also of the superior rights of the Church as applied to Mexico and to all the world besides.

On the 29th of May, 1864, the new-made sovereigns arrived unexpectedly at Vera Cruz, where the inhabitants received them coldly and without enthusiasm or even curiosity; and his first proclamation awakened neither admiration nor interest. The imperial party made their journey to the capital by way of Puebla, where on the 7th day of June the empress celebrated her twenty-fifth birthday, and on the 12th they made their entrance into the city by way of Guadalupe, Hidalgo, amidst the most enthusiastic tokens of joy on the part of the people. A *Te Deum* in the great cathe-

dral finished the reception and gave it the appearance of a grand religious demonstration.

“In the various international congresses held in Europe regarding Hispano-Mexican affairs during the years in which the Mexican people were securing their independence and formulating their systems of government, Great Britain had secured the right to supervise and work them up as being in better condition so to do than any other European country or the United States; and had it not been for the opportune and energetic protests of England and the United States against the intervention on the part of certain Latin nations in Europe, who constituted the so named ‘Holy Alliance,’ it is probable that after the triumph of Ferdinand VII. in Spain, whereby he became firmly seated upon the Spanish throne, said alliance, Spain and France, would have attempted by arms to vindicate his claim to absolute power in Mexico.”*

The Monroe Doctrine was promulgated in 1823 to the gratification of England, whose minister of foreign affairs had long urged upon the United States so to do; and the firm stand thereby taken coincided with the policy and wishes of England, the citizens of which had financial and commercial relations with the new nation.

In that year James Monroe, president of the United States, in his message to congress gave voice to sentiments and principles which have been known in history as the “Monroe Doctrine.” The Spanish provinces in South America and Mexico had long been struggling with Spain for their independence, and the people of the United States desired to recognize them as sovereign nations. The president declared that “the American

*Historia de Mexico

continents are not to be considered as subject to future colonization by any European powers." He further said "that we should consider any attempt by European powers to extend their systems to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

* * * * But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. * * * * It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness. * * * * It is impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference." He declared the true American policy to be "neither to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe nor permit the powers of the Old World to interfere with the affairs of the new."

This novel idea was equivalent to saying that the United States forbade the nations of Europe to acquire territory this side of the Atlantic. However questionable it might be considered for the president to avow so openly and fully sentiments like these, the people of the Union adopted them at once; and the line of policy then marked out has ever since been that by which the United States government has regulated its conduct on this important subject.

For forty years this international policy had pre-

vailed in the western hemisphere, and been known to and respected by all European nations.

The international policy of the Old World is that which is called the "Balance of Power," which, while nearly indefinable, is notwithstanding so omnipresent and sensitive a force that if infracted by the threatening of a Belgian fortress, the invasion of a Swiss Canton, or the loss of a key to a Church in Jerusalem, there would be written protocols, summoned conferences, and mustered armies.

There existed at that time, as at the present, from the borders of Canada to the Straits of Magellan a complete system of republics professing the same political creed. There was not an interest or an ambition of a single one of these republics which threatened an interest or an ambition of a single European power; and yet the states composing the holy alliance—the empire of Austria, the empire of France, and the pope of Rome—with whatever of civil and divine power he possessed, all united to disregard the righteousness of principle embraced in the Monroe Doctrine, and also to eliminate the great exemplar republic as a paramount political power.

"The success of the establishment of a foreign empire in Mexico would have been fatal to all that the United States cherished, to all that it hoped peacefully to achieve. The scheme of invasion rested on the assumption of the dissolution of the Union and its division into two hostile governments."—Blaine.

The presence of Maximilian in Mexico to establish a monarchy on the ruins of a republic was clearly the work of the Roman Catholic Church. The attempt to suppress liberty, progress and popular education, and to

continue the exorbitant revenues of the old ecclesiastical system had the sympathy and assistance of the Romish Church from the lowest of the orders to his holiness, Pius IX; and had there been success it would have gratified all loyal Catholics the world over.

About five months after the selection of Maximilian as emperor of Mexico and four months before his coronation the pope, following up a correspondence of sympathy with the confederacy, sent a letter addressed "To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America," wherein among other terms of recognition he said: "It was peculiarly gratifying to Us to hear that you illustrious Sir as well as the people *whom you govern*," and "Would to God that the other inhabitants of those regions (the northern people) *and their rulers*," also, "We also pray the same all-clement Lord of Mercies to shine upon your excellency the light of his Divine grace, and to unite you and Ourselves in bonds of perfect love."

"Given at Rome at St. Peter's the 3d day of December, 1863, in the Eighteenth year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS, P. P. IX."

The recognition of the confederate states by the pope had immediate and wide spread influence upon the loyalty of his followers in the Union armies, and soon an increased number of desertions was reported. Of deserters who were American born 45 per cent were Romanists. From the nation which furnishes, priests pot house politicians, and policemen for the United States, and from whose sons about 144,000 enlistments were made, the records show more than 100,000 desertions, the largest number occurring after his holiness joined the confederate cause, and stood willing to have the Lord of Mercies

unite him to Jefferson Davis in bonds of perfect love by an act of Divine grace.

Let the past be the past, but let it be the past with all the instructions and warnings thereby furnished to patriotic Americans, whose national tocsin is, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Object lessons like these, so clearly exposed to view on the pages of history, cannot be obscured by mists of falsehood; nor can their colors be obliterated by words of oil falling from the lips of emissaries of the propagando, whose office and interest it is to falsify the truths of history to further the schemes of Rome—that Rome which maintains a wise and vigilant system of *power and place getting* in the United States through civil, political and personal effort of priest and layman—Rome, which subordinates all dictates of law and enlightened conscience to enforce the dogma of Pius IX. "Great are the rights of nations, and they must be heeded; but greater and more sacred are the rights of the Church."



CHAPTER XV.

1864 TO 1866.

MAXIMILLIAN INCAPABLE—SATISFIES NONE—REFUSES THE POPE AND THE CHURCH—EXPENSES—DEBT—DECREE OF OCTOBER—EXECUTIONS—UNITED STATES TROOPS ON THE RIO GRANDE—MONROE DOCTRINE ENFORCED—FRENCH TO EVACUATE—EMPRESS CARLOTE IN EUROPE—NAPOLEON FAILS HER—PIUS IX. ALSO—CARLOTE INSANE.

WHEN the emperor and the empress arrived at the capital they made the castle of Chapultepec their palace. There they established a court after the European system, and were ready for the duties and pleasures of the empire.

No newly installed sovereign ever had greater opportunity or necessity for the exercise of statesmanship; none ever so fully and signally failed. Called to an empire in name only, it so remained. Without any form of constitution and without statute laws enacted or adopted by the empire when he entered his domain, none were formulated. Controlled by no law fundamental or statutory, he was responsible to no representative assembly.

The country needed a firm, shrewd, practical soldier-statesman as ruler. It had one who dreamed of a kind of democratic imperialism, and to whom the practical details of government was a bore.

Mexico specially needed a reorganization of its

treasury department, as the financial embarrassment of the nation had been the ostensible reason for the overthrow of the republic; but the emperor failed also in that matter, and so the credit of the empire depreciated more and more.

The army of the empire consisted almost entirely of foreign troops, and there was really no imperial army until, by reason of the withdrawal of the French, it became necessary to organize one; and then it was too late. The French army was strong and the emperor weak, therefore he leaned upon the French army.

Bazaine had displayed statesmanship in emergencies as well as while acting under instructions from the French emperor; therefore Maximilian was willing that the general should continue to control the policies of the empire, while he cultivated the good graces of the people. He dressed in the costume of the country, donned the broad-brimmed sombrero, mingled with the people, and was affable to all. He took interest in the heroes and traditions of the nation, made himself familiar with the forms and ceremonies of religion as taught and practiced, and performed various acts of beneficence. He also made feeble attempts to establish reforms in the administration of justice.

In his good will and affability he cherished a desire to satisfy all parties; so both conservatives and liberals were admitted to his councils and taken into his cabinet. But his well-meant efforts were fruitless in securing unanimity of opinion or harmony of action; and political contentions continued, with the additional result of exposing his utter lack of knowledge of the science of government and of statesmanship, and therefore he satisfied neither party.

Moreover, it was discovered that he had the elements of deceit and insincerity in his nature. His policy seemed to be to temporize when possible, and to compromise when compelled to act.

As a spendthrift who, after suffering much from need, suddenly enters into a fortune, the emperor felt like having the world share his exuberance. So life at the capital and in some of the larger cities of the vicinity was gay during the bright days of the empire. But the days of brilliance were soon over, for the people who were his subjects had greater interests involved than the personal pleasures of the emperor and his suite.

Statesmen who had taken part in the politics and business of the country in the past, and who had given a welcome to the empire, hopeful that the change would be for the welfare of the commonwealth, seeing their mistake became disgusted and alienated.

The Church party, which with great effort and expense had co-operated in the schemes that had ended in his selection and coronation as emperor, demanded prompt and radical action in the administration of what they deemed justice, in their interest. Archbishop Labastida and other high clergy, who in their political and ecclesiastical capacity had shaped public sentiment to favor the imperial system, demanded the reversal of the decrees of Juarez and the restoration to the Church of all the rights and property of which it had been despoiled. General Bazaine at first and Maximilian in suit gave such unsatisfactory replies that they sent the clerical party to the ranks of the disaffected.

The legate of the pope who was specially sent from Rome to supplement and finish the business of Church

and state, which had not been fully disposed of when the emperor had his final interview with his holiness, raised his voice in unison with the archbishop in demanding the restoration of the properties which had been sequestered, and in addition he insisted upon "*the exclusion from the Mexican empire of every form of religion but the Roman Catholic; the independent sovereignty of each bishop in his diocese, the absolute control of schools and education, and the immunity of the Church from any interference of the civil authorities.*"

Upon these demands the counselors of the emperor were divided. Many of his personal friends held titles to part of the real estate, and possessed much of the personal property once belonging to the clergy and the Church, and they stood in the way of favorable action. The emperor, however, could no longer temporize, as the issues were upon him. So he refused the nuncio, and in turn insisted upon nearly equal usurpations, including the principle that matrimony was a civil contract, and also upon the subordination of the Church to the state, and that the clergy should be classified with civil employees; insisting, moreover, upon confirming titles to the property of the Church, which had already been sold and disposed of.

This was in reality equivalent to a disavowal of the bases on which the empire had been established, and a nullification of the motives for the war and an agreement to the justice of the liberal cause; and it so infuriated the clerical party that in 1865 they went so far as to promote a conspiracy in favor of Santa Anna, with whom they hoped to associate Diaz or some other liberal chief, and thus overthrow the new-made empire. Thus

the faction upon which the emperor had founded his greatest hope for support was alienated.

The country was held to apparent loyalty by an immense army composed of foreigners, to the exclusion of native soldiers. So the citizens of the country, who were patriots at heart, whether conservatives or liberals, became dissatisfied and hostile. Places in the emperor's suite were filled, mainly, with Belgian, Austrian and French soldiers or fledgeling noblemen, who did not disguise their contempt for the citizens of the country. These together with the commander of the French army were bitterly hated.

But not the least cause of complaint was the increasing obligations of the country. The emperor exhibited the same financial incapacity in his imperial position which he did as an impecunious scion of royalty in Austria. To keep up the court pageantry to which he had been accustomed, and which to his mind was indispensable to imperial dignity, and to carry out some of his impracticable schemes in the country, he exhausted the revenues and increased the public debt. The single item of the imperial civil list amounted to \$1,700,000, as against \$60,000 which had been the president's salary. In addition to consuming the revenues arising from taxation, the debt of the country was increased until it amounted to \$250,000,000; and under the peculiar conditions of the empire the rates of discount and interest were exorbitant.

This extravagance and financial incapacity was a great disappointment to Napoleon, who had expected to receive financial aid from the reported fabulous wealth of Mexico, instead of having such a drain upon his exchequer as he was compelled to submit to in sustaining

his troops in the country. Thus, without support from his people, and with a disappointed benefactor, the empire of Maximilian, which never promised any benefit to the people of Mexico, was doomed to collapse from the very beginning.

While the empire was running its course, and while the elements of dissolution and disintegration were developing, the government of Juarez was being moved from place to place, until it finally was located at Paso Del Norte, 1200 miles from the capital. There Benito Juarez, the true and constitutional executive of Mexico, maintained the forms of government, having but few adherents. Among them was Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, an able lawyer and statesman, who was his faithful minister of relations. Strong of faith, and assured of the inevitable dissolution of the so-called empire, they listened with stoical indifference to the alarms which dispersed their followers.

Word was brought to Maximilian that Juarez had abandoned his cause and crossed the Rio Grande into the United States. Impelled by that report he issued a decree on the 3d day of October, 1865; in which he declared that there was now but one government in Mexico and that one the empire. Therein he announced that any armed resistance to his authority would not be considered as war, but as the acts of bandits; that all such offenders should be tried by court-martial, and that the guilty should be summarily executed.

General Bazaine issued an order to the army in which he said: "Hereafter the troops will take no prisoners and there will be no exchange of prisoners." All persons taken with arms in their hands were to be put to death, and rank was to receive no consideration.

Within a few days Generals Arteaga and Salazar, who were officers in the Republican army, were arrested by imperial soldiers, denied rights as prisoners of war, tried by court-martial, found guilty, sentenced to death, and on the 21st of October were executed by being shot.

This severity and injustice inflicted upon distin-



MAXIMILLIAN.

guished citizens of Mexico at the hands of foreign usurpers and invaders was more than could be endured. Some who had been supporters of the imperial cause refused longer to give aid to the emperor who could adopt such a cruel and barbarous policy, and the Republican

cause received the support of many who had previously remained neutral. The withdrawal of the decree did not diminish the hostility which it had inspired.

During the entire time that the French troops had occupied Mexico, the United States administrative officers had not ceased to inform Napoleon that his infraction of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine would not be entirely ignored. But the unsolved problem of the Southern confederacy gave the emperor hope that there would soon be no United States, and that he had no reason for fear. The triumph of the federal arms in 1865 and the appearance of General Sheridan with an army corps upon the Rio Grande opened the eyes of Napoleon. Then the warnings, protests, demands and threats of the secretary of state at Washington caused him to take a different view of the relations of his government to the American international policy, and Maximilian was informed of the intention of France to withdraw its armies from the support of the empire.

There was consternation at the imperial palace at Chapultepec on the 31st of May, 1866, for on that day Maximilian received word of the intended withdrawal. Conscious of his weakness and of his inability to maintain himself his courage forsook him, and his first impulse was to abdicate and return to the safety of his old home in Austria.

The empress, however, in her misconception of the seriousness of the case and of the uncertainty of European support, dissuaded him from taking the wise steps which he proposed. Confident that she could prevail upon Napoleon to fulfill the stipulations of the treaty of Miramar, she started the very next day for Europe. When she arrived at Paris the French emperor avoided

her, but persisting in her efforts she secured a hearing, only to be repulsed with rudeness. The interview terminated by his asking her by what route she preferred to have the imperial railway coach *convey her out of France.*

It was on her return from St. Cloud and this brutal rebuff that the first symptoms of insanity manifested themselves. He had firmly announced that he would do nothing for her, and that the French troops would certainly be recalled from Mexico, proffering at the same time advice to Maximilian to give up the impossible struggle and to return to Europe.

After her repulse by Napoleon, Carlote went to her old home at Miramar. Doubtless the quiet and peace of that home, and the pleasant memories of the happy years therein passed with her husband to whom she was lovingly devoted, and the contrast therewith presented to her mind as she contemplated the sad and possibly fatal involvements of Mexico, hastened the death of her intellect, which had received so serious a blow at the hands of Napoleon.

After resting a few days she repaired to Rome to see Pope Pius IX. and to beg of him the fulfillment of his promises, and especially that he should direct the clergy in Mexico to cease their acts of discontent and indifference and to give their support to the empire. But the pope, like all of his predecessors and his only successor, was very human; and inasmuch as Maximilian had ignored the demands of his nuncio, he gave Carlote no encouragement. Then her reason succumbed fully to the intense strain, and falling on her knees before the pope, she cried in her frenzy: "Saint Peter

issue a bull, I beg you, to all Christians condemning those who wish to imprison me!"

O futile faith, resting upon diplomatic promises made by Roman Catholic powers from his holiness down—or up—to the insincere trickster and coward, Napoleon III. The pope had interest in Maximilian only as a tool to aid the Church to power and money; and as the emperor of Mexico had failed to comply with the impossible demands made upon him, the pope had no further interest in the future of the empire or of the emperor.

Neither was it disinterestedness alone which impelled Napoleon to invade Mexico, establish the empire and select Maximilian, and when the crucial test came his visionary ambitious succumbed to stern reality.

The patriotism and prowess of the Union armies maintained the American republic and its international policies and thereby overthrew the schemes of the French emperor, the holy alliance, and the infallible pope of Rome.

"Poor Carlote!" The political part which she had to play in that tragedy of diplomacy ended in that supplication. She shut herself up soon after in Chateau Miramar, and later she was conveyed to Belgium, where she was confined at first in the castle of Tervueren and still later in the Chateau de Bouchout, where she still remains hopelessly demented.

It is happily probable that she never knew the fate of Maximilian. For years she believed he still lived as a prisoner in Mexico, and would write letters to the sovereigns of Europe demanding their assistance in his behalf.

CHAPTER XVI.

1866 TO 1867.

MAXIMILLIAN VACILLATES—CHURCH TO THE RESCUE—
FRENCH EMBARK—ARMY ORGANIZED—QUERETARO—
EMPEROR CAPTURED—TRIED—CONDEMNED
—EXECUTED—FIRMNESS OF JUAREZ.

THE news of the failure of the mission of Carlote reached the emperor at Chapultepec, and he was completely crushed. He saw no way out of his troubles, and doubted his ability to prolong the struggle. He immediately set out for Vera Cruz, as if his nearness to the coast could solve the doubt and indecision which prevailed as to his proper course. He remained in a state of vacillation for two months at Orizaba. An attempt which he made at abdication was unsuccessful, as it embraced terms which were not acceptable to the commissioners who were sent to secure the document.

The clericals in Mexico were in equal doubt as to the course which they should take. The fall of the empire meant the return of Juarez and his decrees. To avoid that, to them, dreadful result they rallied to the support of the emperor, and pledged financial aid. Miramon had returned to Mexico, and he and other Mexican officers pledged themselves to raise an army of Mexicans sufficient in numbers to take the place of the retiring foreigners. Letters of sympathy were also received from Europe. Thus encouraged Maximillian returned to the capital.

In January, 1867, the French troops began to retire from the country, and by March they had all embarked for Europe. Bazaine himself was the last to take ship, and his last and most sensible act on Mexican soil was, to write a letter to Maximilian, urging him to abdicate and offering him transportation to Europe. But by reason of matters connected with the collapse of the empire, Maximilian had ceased to have communication with the French commander. He had been flattered into the belief that the presence of the French troops was not necessary; and that he could not only supply the troops, but that he could also furnish a better commander than Bazaine. So, as the rear of the retiring army passed his palace, he turned to one of his retainers and said: "At last I am free." In the unique language of Marshal Neil; Maximilian had got him a horse, and was off to conquer his empire.

By the withdrawal of the French army the few soldiers at the emperor's command were inadequate to hold the whole country, so the contest ceased to be national and degenerated into a partisan one. It was the old struggle of the centralist or Church party against the republic and the constitution which Juarez had fought to a finish in 1860. Some personal favorites of the emperor among the Austrian and Belgian soldiers, together with a small body of French troops remained in Mexico.

The work of organizing an army of native soldiers was pushed with energy, but the forces fell far short of the numbers pledged. Ignoring such skillful and magnetic generals as Miramon and others, Maximilian personally assumed command of the army.

The spirit of sanguinary partisanship which always prevailed among armed Mexicans was greatly intensi-

fied by some of the orders issued by the imperial commander. To Miramon, who held a subaltern command, he gave the order "to court-martial and sentence Juarez, Lerdo de Tejada, Iglesias, Garcia and Negrete, should he succeed in capturing them, but to defer their execution until further special instructions. The same to apply to all dissidents; to prisoners in arms no quarter is granted." This order furnished interesting reading to Juarez, into whose hands it fell soon after.

Not only was there a failure in the matter of troops with which to fight the emperor's battles, but the necessary funds so lavishly promised by the Church were not forthcoming, and there was a woful want of money for the support of the empire. Inasmuch as the capital was deemed indefensible and the Church party was very strong at Queretaro, that place was selected as the imperial headquarters. So, on the 19th of February, 1867, the imperial army was there concentrated. It consisted of 9,000 men, including 600 French troops, with thirty-nine pieces of artillery. When positions were taken, and the lines of defense and of offense were considered, it was pronounced by the emperor to be a "ratonera," or mouse trap.

The foreign troops having vacated the country, the republican armies were able to concentrate around Queretaro; and after a siege of two months and a half, during which time the imperial army experienced all the horrors of famine incident to a total failure of supplies, the emperor determined to make a sortie, and escape to the mountains, and to adopt the same system of warfare which had been followed by the republican troops during the years of the French occupation.

The time being fixed for the movement, one of the

few Mexicans who had been near the emperor's person as a trusted favorite, traitorously visited the headquarters of the republican army, and disclosed the plan. General Escobedo, who commanded the republican forces, availed himself of the information, and placed a detail of his troops in position under the guidance of the traitor, and thus secured the headquarters of the emperor. Though there was some fighting, the whole imperial force was captured at daylight on the 15th of May, 1867.

By this time Juarez had arrived at San Luis Potosi, and there had his headquarters. From there he issued an order for the trial of the emperor and Generals Miramon and Mejia. A military court was convened under the decree of January 25, 1862, in which "all traitors and invaders of the country were condemned to the penalty of death." It consisted of a lieutenant-colonel and six captains. The court met at the theater Iturbide, in Queretaro, on the 13th of June.

Maximillian was charged with treason, usurpation of imperial power with prolonging the civil war in Mexico, with signing and issuing his decree of October, 3, 1865, and of arbitrarily disposing of the lives and liberties of Mexican citizens; and Miramon and Mejia were charged as accomplices. Maximillian being unwilling to endure the humiliation of public exposure, plead indisposition and remained away from the court. The two generals were present and comported themselves with great dignity.

An able defense was made, conducted by attorneys of skill and renown in which local, international and natural laws and usages were presented to the court together with logical arguments. But all was in vain.

The decree of October and the execution of Arteaga and Salazar were too fresh and formidable arguments and illustrations of the imperial policy to be overcome.

The prosecution urged in the closing argument that as the emperor and his associates had been apprehended with arms in their hands, they should be tried and condemned on the principles of the October decree; and as they had treated Arteaga and his comrade, so they, no more, no less, should be convicted and executed.

On the 14th inst. the prisoners were found guilty as charged and were sentenced to death. General Escobedo approved the sentence, and after some delay as to the hour of execution, it was fixed for the morning of the 19th. At 6 o'clock on the morning of that day the three condemned dignitaries were conducted in carriages, each accompanied by his confessor to the Cerro de las Campanas—Hill of the Bells—where a considerable force of troops was stationed to keep at a distance the immense multitude which had assembled to witness the execution and who by their loud *vivas* expressed their sympathy for the unfortunate victims.

Maximillian yielded the place of honor—the center—to Miramon as a tribute to his bravery, himself taking the left of the line. He gave presents to his executioners, bidding them to aim at his body, not at his head, as he wished his mother to look upon his unmarred face. Addressing the soldiers and the surrounding throng, he said: “Mexicans, I die for a just cause, the independence of Mexico. God grant that my blood may bring happiness to my new country. *Viva Mexico!*” Miramon and Mejia joined with their “*Viva Mexico!*” and the volley was fired. Miramon died in-

stantly, but another discharge was required to execute the sentence upon Mejia and the emperor.

Maximillian had pride as a soldier, and left as his last words to his mother, the one living person dearest to his heart, the motto: "Behold, as a soldier I have performed my duty." Prompted by a spirit of kindness, friends had given him the false information that his beloved Carlote was dead, and he died in full faith and hope of meeting her immediately beyond the grave.

When the finding of the court and the dreadful sentence became known to the world, universal sympathy was excited, and from all directions were poured in solicitations for the pardon of the condemned emperor and generals. Representatives of foreign powers, including the United States, joined in the requests. Garibaldi and Victor Hugo, from Europe, also asked clemency.

But all was unavailing. The grim singleness of purpose that had made Juarez great and admirable in all of his past official history and that had caused him to hold the welfare of the state as supreme, to the disregard of personal interests, maintained control when mercy to the individual meant injustice to the commonwealth.

Among the reasons given for the refusal were "that if Maximillian should live, his cause would also survive and give occasion for further foreign and domestic uprisings for his reinstatement; that it would establish a dangerous precedent and encourage foreign governments again to interfere with Mexican affairs, dictate her policies and pursue the debt created by the intervention and the empire. The opportunity was now presented to make it clear that a republic could be

established in Mexico with ability to manage its affairs with perfect independence and with sufficient national pride to aim a blow at the dogma of 'the divine right of kings,' making it effective by executing a member of one of the principal reigning families of Europe "

The body of Maximilian was carefully embalmed and in due time taken to Austria, where it rests in the imperial vault in the Church of the Capuchins in the city of Trieste.

When the imperial army was concentrated at Queretaro, there were besides that place only three centers of imperial power, Mexico, Puebla and Vera Cruz. In March General Diaz laid siege to Puebla, which he captured after a month of fighting. The City of Mexico was also captured by Diaz on the day after the execution of the emperor, and Vera Cruz surrendered on the 4th of July following.

During the war of the intervention and the empire there had been about 1,000 battles and skirmishes. Of Mexicans 73,000 had been enrolled in the republican army and about 15,000 as imperialists. It is computed that, including foreign troops, no less than 40,000 lives were sacrificed on the altar of the ambition of Napoleon III., and in the vain efforts of the ecclesiastics to impose imperial rule and priestly dominion upon the Mexican nation.

CHAPTER XVII.

1867 TO 1872.

JUAREZ ENTERS CAPITAL—WELCOME—RE-ELECTED—
ADMINISTRATION OF PROGRESS AND REFORM—
AGAIN ELECTED PRESIDENT—DISSATISFACTION
APPEASED—DEATH OF JUAREZ—EULOGY.

“ON THE 15th of July, 1867, Juarez made his entrance into the City of Mexico; and on the same day issued a manifesto to the effect that during the four years of his absence from the capital he had done nothing contrary to the integrity or sovereignty of the republic, nor had he consented to any compromise prejudicial to the integrity of its dominions, and that in all respects he had sustained the laws and the constitution of the republic of Mexico.

“When he entered the capital he was received by a municipal representation, which expressed for the people of the city their gratitude for his scrupulous respect for the rights and goods of all persons; recognizing equally the moderation which he had shown during the war; a war which had been distinguished until recently by repugnant abuses, levies, forced loans, extortions, and the inhuman slaughter of prisoners.”*

With the withdrawal of the foreign and the defeat of the native imperial armies, the president, not needing its services any longer, proceeded to reduce the army to

*Historia de Mexico.

a peace footing. This was not accomplished without serious opposition, as many wished to hold their offices and draw pay and subsistence from the government. But Juarez preferred the welfare of the country to the benefit of the individual; so he persisted successfully in the reduction.

“The extraordinary powers with which the president had been invested were exercised to promote progress and the national welfare, such as the construction of railroads, the establishment of schools of jurisprudence, engineering, arts, mechanics and agriculture. The president took occasion to carry to the extreme of his authority reforms in reorganizing the various branches of the government. This was a hazardous task, as it was difficult to decide upon men for the various public posts who were qualified and worthy of confidence.”

In December, 1867, Juarez was elected president for the second time; and during this term there occurred frequent political disturbances, which in fact continued nearly to the end of his administration. Revolutions were begun in various states, and a grave insurrection took form in Yucatan.

“At the beginning of 1868 the public insecurity took alarming proportions, and robberies and assassinations were quite frequent; but 1869 began under more favorable auspices. The liberal institutions were more firmly implanted; and the administration, being reorganized with better material, pulsated with vigor, and there was hope that there would be no more serious disturbances. But these hopes were futile; for seditions developed in Puebla and San Luis Potosi. These were suppressed, and in October the public peace was promoted by a law of general amnesty.”

But the presidential election soon occurring was the occasion for disquiet. In that election Juarez received 5,837 votes, Diaz 3,555, and Lerdo 5,874. Neither having a majority as required by the constitution, congress was called to make the selection. Juarez and Lerdo united their forces, and the former was duly announced as president. The partisans of Diaz claimed that fraud had been practised, and took up arms in revolt. Diaz, who had great regard for his old friend and compatriot Juarez, opposed the revolution and it was quieted; but not until many lives were sacrificed, among them that of General Felix Diaz, brother of Porfirio, a soldier who had gained victories and renown in the war with the French.

In the midst of the conflict occurred the death of Juarez, who was attacked with cerebral fever in 1870, but who was then saved from death, although he had a presentiment of his approaching end. So he published a manifesto to his friends, lamenting that he should not be permitted to live to complete the reconstruction of the affairs of the country.

On the 18th of July, 1872, the president retired to his house earlier than was usual with him, having the intention to pass a part of the next day in the grove at Chapultepec, where exercise jointly with a temperate bath generally contributed to restore him to a normal state of health. In the night he had an attack at the heart, and in spite of the physician's skill this grand man exhaled his last breath at 11 o'clock at night, surrounded by his family and friends. The sad event is thus chronicled in the history of Mexico:

“The discharge of artillery proclaimed the minute in which the spirit of the great chief had flown. It pro-

duced profound sentiments of sorrow among the inhabitants of the capital. Unanimously occurred to them his bravery and firmness as the standard bearer of the liberties of the country, his unconquerable faith in his mission, and the many noble qualities of his head and of his heart. If he had at times invaded the rights of the nation, if he had broken the precepts of the constitution, the acts were attributable more to his counselors than to himself. He was a man who bore sarcasm and insult with admirable resignation, who never manifested malice against his opponents; nor was he ostentatious in his triumphs, nor harsh in his treatment of enemies, nor did he ever exhibit heart-burning rancor. He disdained to compromise. To traditional prejudices he had no attachment, and direct results were always the end and object of his political efforts. To his duties he gave a strict compliance. The tenacity of his purpose sustained the republic during the darkest epoch in the struggle with the French army, and thereby he was enabled also to maintain his own dignity. In his country's gratitude he has erected to his honor a monument more enduring than all the chiseled, engraved and embossed centotaphs of the monarchs of Europe; and although eternal night obscures his person, the acts and character of Juarez will endure forever, engraved on the pages of history and in the hearts of all Mexicans."*

The patriotism of Juarez was unquestioned and disinterested. It embraced all the interests of the state. In the interest of the commonwealth he fought one of the world's greatest battles. The results of the victory which crowned that conflict will enure to the benefit of Mexico for all time. Such revolutions never go back-

*Historia de Mexico.

ward. In Mexico, as in Europe, liberty from the bonds of ecclesiasticism will prove to be perpetual.

To select from the illustrious names which abound on the pages of Mexican history, that man whose life and whose character best exhibits the possibilities offered to youth of brain, honesty and industry, even in peculiar Mexico; who in early life was taught firmness and stability by the motionless snow-capped mountains, quietness and placidity by the lakes within the valleys, patriotism by the sorrows of his despoiled kindred, and ambition by the bright stars shining over his head while he watched his herds at night; the one whose life was a benediction; the one whose name is tenderly enshrined in every heart and lovingly voiced by every tongue; for such an one, go to the adobe hut, the home of the lowly Indian and select the child of poverty and orphanage, the youth of adversity and toil, the student of diligence and promise, the man of virtue and integrity, the champion of law and liberty, the emancipator of his nation from ecclesiasticism in politics—Benito Pablo Juarez.

In the *Panteon de San Fernando* a noble marble mausoleum marks the resting place of the LINCOLN OF MEXICO. Upon a dais rests a sarcophagus containing his remains. On the top is his recumbent statue cold in death, over which a seraphim with over-shadowing wings stoops, and with sorrowful countenance and tearful eyes testifies a nations grief at the mortality of her noblest citizen—the grandest man in whose veins ever coursed pure aboriginal blood.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1872 TO 1878.

LERDO PRESIDENT — PRIEST — POLITICS — CONSTITUTION AMENDED—ANTI-CHURCH REFORMS—JESUITS AND SISTERS “GO”—LERDO’S AMBITION—ELECTED PRESIDENT—COUNTED IN AND OUT—REVOLUTION—DIAZ—IGLESIOUS ASSUMED PRESIDENCY—DIAZ’S REVOLUTION SUCCESSFUL—DIAZ PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT—THREE PRESIDENTS—DIAZ WINS.

UPON the death of Juarez, Sebastian Lerdo, who was at that time president of the supreme court, succeeded to the presidency. He immediately took the oath of office and entered upon the discharge of his duties. He had been in the cabinet of Juarez as minister of relations, and with a friendship and tenacity greatly to be commended, had adhered to the president and shared his defeats and triumphs through the years of the intervention and the empire, and was in full sympathy with the work of reform. He first served as president *ad interim*, but on the 16th of December, 1872, congress duly elected him to serve the unexpired term of the deceased Juarez.

Lerdo had been educated for the priesthood, but after graduating he abandoned the clerical profession and adopted that of law. This vacillation was not the result of any defect in his character, for he was a man

who had sterling qualities and could dominate others. But his patriotism and his knowledge of the grievous wrongs inflicted upon the people by the indulgence of their greed for power and money on the part of the clergy caused him to adopt his new profession and also to enter the political arena where he could more effectually render assistance to Juarez and other reformers in the struggle between Church and state as a partisan of the liberal school.

With the fall of Maximilian and the empire came also the fall of centralism, and although Juarez did not live to see the regeneration of the country in all its fullness, it came in due time.

By article 127 of the constitution of 1857, all amendments to the same were to be adopted by a two-thirds vote of congress and then ratified by a majority of the state legislatures. Processes had been commenced during the life of Juarez which were completed in the time of Lerdo, who on September 25, 1873, by his official signature and proclamation gave full effect and authority to constitutional reforms which had been foreshadowed in the decree of Juarez, issued in July, 1859, at Vera Cruz.

By these amendments there was an absolute separation of Church and state, and moreover congress was prohibited from passing any law either favoring or prohibiting any religion. Matrimony was declared to be a civil contract, and the performance of the ceremony was devolved upon the civil authorities. Religious corporations were prohibited from owning real estate or receiving any revenues from the same, excepting the ground actually required to continue their legitimate business. All oaths were abolished and in their place a simple

promise to perform duty faithfully, or in the case of witnesses, "to tell the truth" was substituted. All religious orders were disbanded, no obligation to a monastic or other religious order was to be permitted, and all who had taken an oath or entered into obligation to perform any service of a religious nature were absolved from such oath or obligation.

By these amendments, and because of other clauses in the constitution no one connected with ecclesiasticism is eligible to the office of deputy in congress, president of the supreme court or president of the republic. By their tenor and construction there is not in all Mexico a society of Jesuits, Monks, Nuns or Sisters of Charity; and there are no convents, religious orders nor priest-making schools.

The Church had allied itself with Iturbide, with Centralism, with Santa Anna, with Zuloaga and Miramon, and finally with the invasion of the French and the empire of Maximilian in their determined and sanguinary efforts to maintain control of the government and the wealth of the country. Each and every one of them had failed, and in the reaction the Church and clergy lost rights and privileges in Mexico which they have in other civilized countries.

The radical principles incorporated in the constitution and the liberal measures introduced into the bill of rights growing out of the same developed marked opposition on the part of the clergy, and inspired by excommunications and anathemas launched from the vatican, the ignorant Indians prepared to take up arms.

In 1874 the Jesuits, feeling the effects of the new order of things, resisted and displayed great energy to stir up the fires of fanaticism because of the coming of

Protestants into the country and the enforcement of the reforms of the constitution; but they fell before a vigorous prosecution of the law, and the reaction of justice also carried down all religious orders, including the Sisters of Charity, which had been tolerated up to that time.

All of the societies were disbanded, and the members who did not avail themselves of the provisions of the constitution absolving them from their obligations, were banished from the country. The traveler in Mexico to-day fails to see upon the streets and elsewhere the black dress and costume so familiar in the United States. This will continue until the constitution is amended or ignored. Under the tolerance granted to all religions, many Protestant churches immediately established their missions in the City of Mexico and elsewhere, and these are sustained with increase of numbers and influence in spite of the Catholic crusade against them; and so it will continue until the constitution giving this religious liberty is amended or ignored. But there is scarcely a possibility of an ecclesiastical reaction to that end.

The beginning of the administration of Lerdo was marked as a very stormy one. Revolutions broke out in the north which embraced several states. These were suppressed by government troops, and the leaders were executed. After this, for two years and a half, the government had little opposition.

The president exhibited signs of following in the footsteps of Santa Anna, in that he adopted measures regarding the states and their rights of a decided dictatorial nature. He had a great desire to perpetuate his power, and in 1874 exhibited ambition to be re-elected

to the presidency. To prepare the way he issued a decree on May 18th, in which he declared that the electoral college alone should decide the result of the vote for president, thus taking a constitutional right away from the supreme court. A controversy immediately arose which involved the judge of that court and many statesmen in different parts of the country.

Peace had prevailed for an unusually long period, but it was broken in January, 1876, by General Hernandez, who pronounced against the government and proclaimed General Diaz chief of the revolutionary forces.

On the 22d of March Diaz accepted the office, and in a manifesto declared that Mexico had been badly governed by Lerdo, that the laws and the constitution had been subverted, that the right of suffrage had been abolished, that elections were corruptly controlled by the president as dictator, that the courts of justice had been subordinated and corrupted, moreover that he was resolved to overthrow the government of Lerdo and his ministers and to place the country under a provisional executive, who should be named by the governors of the states that accepted the plan.

Diaz began his military operations in Northern Mexico, but his success not being as great as he desired, he went to New Orleans, thence to Vera Cruz and finally to Oaxaca in the south, where he raised a sufficient force to meet the government troops put in the field by Lerdo.

While these movements were taking place the election for president occurred on the 26th of October, 1876, and Lerdo was elected. But the methods and processes were apparently so marked by fraud that the chief

justice of the supreme court, Jose Maria Iglesias promptly but secretly went to the capital and declared the election fraudulent and void.

By this act and decision Lerdo was formally deposed. The constitution provided that in case the president of the republic should be deposed, or in any other manner become incapacitated to perform the duties of his office then, and in that case the chief justice of the supreme court should become president. Under these facts and laws Iglesias claimed to be the legal and constitutional president. In Guanajuato he took the oath of office, appointed his cabinet and set up his administration. He also organized an army.

On the 15th of November Diaz with his forces met the government troops under command of General Altorre at Tecoac, and gained a signal victory. He secured re-enforcements and moved upon the capital. Lerdo took alarm and on the 20th inst. left the capital, went to Acapulco and without formally resigning the presidency, took passage for the United States and located in New York city, where he remained until the day of his death. From there he occasionally issued orders and asserted his authority as president.

Diaz entered the capital on the 23d of the month and was received with flattering demonstrations of welcome, and five days afterwards was installed as provisional president on the principles of his published plan.

Mexico now had three presidents, each of them with adherents. Diaz placed General Mendez in the executive chair temporarily, while with an army he moved against Iglesias, who had been joined by many of Lerdo's troops. Without the shedding of blood Diaz

had a complete victory and returned to the capital, Iglesias having followed the example of Lerdo and taken refuge in the United States, making New Orleans his place of rest. For a time he also issued presidential orders, but becoming convinced that his cause was hopeless, he returned to Mexico and to private life on his good behavior.

The campaign for the pacification of the country by the suppression of the Iglesias forces commenced in December and ended in February. During that time state after state and army after army joined the revolution, and the march of Diaz through the country was a constant and complete triumph. On the 15th of February at the capital he relieved his substitute, General Mendez, and began his administration. By this time the states of the south, the east, the west and the center had allied themselves with the cause of Diaz, and only in the farthest north was there municipal opposition.

Still there were many statesmen and patriots who opposed revolutions on principle. They had passed through many of them and had witnessed that the successful revolutionist often made his administration a personal one. With the career and character of Santa Anna fresh in their memories, many feared that Diaz might mar all the good work and retard the progress accomplished and secured by the constitution of 1857, with its benefits acquired at the cost of so much blood.

Diaz considered it necessary to quiet the public apprehensions. He therefore published a special circular in which he pledged himself to comply with the promises set forth in his plan, upon principles liberal and progressive, to sustain the guarantees and to promote all needed reforms; and that he would not permit

anything of a partisan nature to hinder his efforts to promote the national welfare. That such grand ends might be secured, he asked the co-operation of men of all parties and solicited them to aid him with their views, wisdom and influence.

This policy which was so different from that of Lerdo, who was an egotist and an exclusiveist, produced a good effect and captured the popular favor.

An election for president and deputies to congress was ordered, and Diaz as provisional president took care that no frauds were perpetrated. Congress met in April, 1877, and the utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed. One month afterwards the election of Diaz was formally announced, he having had an almost unanimous vote from 200 districts. The people had openly elected their champion, having confidence in his patriotism and ability. At the election it was decided that the term of office began on the 1st of December, 1876, and ended November 30, 1880.

Opposed as he always was to all ostentation, Diaz entered into the office with the most simple forms possible. Moreover, to the great surprise of all, he refused, as did also his substitute, Mendez, all compensation for services rendered during the provisional term. The partisans of Lerdo, with an army commanded by General Escobedo, made some efforts to maintain the struggle in the northern states, but without much effect upon the general welfare or the progress of the country, and with the capture of the general in June, 1878, and the dispersal of his forces in August, and with the pacification of Alvarez in the extreme south the country was freed from armed malcontents.

CHAPTER XIX.

1878 TO 1880.

BIOGRAPHY OF DIAZ—SUCCESS AS PRESIDENT—REFORMS IN ALL DEPARTMENTS—JUSTICE—COURTS—ARMY — POLICE — DIPLOMATIC — DECLINES RE-ELECTION.

PORFIRIO DIAZ was born in Oaxaca on the glorious anniversary of Mexican independence, September 15, 1830, just twenty years after Hidalgo had raised "El grito de dolores," on the night of that date. His parentage was of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, with a preponderance of Spanish. His father was a man of good business capacity, having amassed quite a fortune. He was also distinguished as a revolutionist, and was a captain in the army, having been commissioned by General Guerrero. His death by cholera took place in 1833, and the mother was left to care for her three children. She was a woman of unusual capacity, being much superior to the woman of the times. Porfirio inherited from his parents many noble qualities, and the mother's great care and personal instructions added to his excellent impulses of head and heart, so that they were never abridged by any neglect on her part.

The country at that time was in a constant state of war, and the property of the family depreciated in value so that the mother had difficulty in maintaining and educating her children. Porfirio was placed in school



PORFIRIO DIAZ, PRESIDENT OF MEXICO.



to be educated for the priesthood, as there was a hereditary chaplaincy among the family assets, and it was the wish of the dying father that his eldest son should become an ecclesiastic. The youthful Diaz made unusual proficiency in his studies, and held a high rank at examinations.

At the age of fourteen he was personally presented to Benito Juarez, who was governor of the state of Oaxaca, and as such governor visited the school in which Diaz was a student, for the purpose of distributing the premiums. The address of the governor was so marked with patriotism that Diaz was charmed.

In a private conversation with Juarez, had afterwards, the governor spoke of the ills which the country had suffered at the hands of the Spaniards, and the bad effects of ill-advised efforts to force the methods of Spain and her religion upon the Indians by the use of arms, with such clearness that the young student had his mind opened, and saw things in such a new and forcible light that he scarcely slept that night. A friendship grew up between Juarez and Diaz, which lasted until the death of the former, and was mutually profitable.

Diaz had been reared in a time of war, and while yet a child formed and commanded companies of boys; and their juvenile battles were not always without bloody results, as the noses and heads of the young combatants would sometimes testify. When he was seventeen years of age the martial spirit of the country was excited, and troops were organized to resist the Americans, who under Generals Taylor and Scott had conquered and occupied the country. Diaz and his fellow students took it upon themselves to form a military force, whose object was to drive out the invaders.

They proffered their services to the governor of their state, who quietly but proudly laid the written offer away, feeling assured that such valiant youth would some day serve well the country which had the honor to call them her children. Diaz passed his course of studies with honor, and at the age of eighteen was proposed by the prelate in charge for his first orders and priestly vesture. To his surprise and grief, the prospective priest announced his determination to abandon the ecclesiastical and to adopt the legal profession. So the prelate vehemently chided him for his folly, and in no flattering manner reminded him of his poverty.

A friend, who had in some sense been his patron and financial assistant, added to the reproof, and peremptorily forbade him again to enter his house. The tears of his mother, while they touched his heart and prompted anew his ambition to achieve a name and to secure means for her relief, yet failed to change his plans. He entered the law office of his friend Juarez, who was associated in business with another of his friends, the patriot Perez, where with such assistance as was secured by his own efforts as a teacher he found himself on the road to distinction and independence, while yet a youth.

Having selected his own course, he pursued it until he reached the high office of president, and while on his journey to that exalted and responsible position, as well as while there, he was able to deliver many well directed and effective blows to the destruction of the political power of the clergy, and to render very valuable assistance to Juarez in his war upon the "Church in Politics." His aid greatly accelerated the separation of Church and state and secured the reforms whose enactment preceded

his entrance into that executive power, which he always administered with a spirit fully consistent with the welfare of the country.

While Diaz was pursuing his studies Santa Anna returned to the country as president in 1853. Soon after Juarez was arrested for political offenses and deported to Cuba, and Perez his partner, and the friend of Diaz, was arrested and imprisoned in the convent of Santo Domingo. The young patriot Diaz and his brother Felix, at the risk of their lives, availing themselves of the favor of a dark and stormy night, scaled the walls of the convent and liberated Perez.

Soon after, when Santa Anna held the election which was to ascertain the will of the people as to the continuance of his dictatorial powers, such frauds were perpetrated that Diaz openly denounced the scheme and the processes; thereby securing for himself an order of arrest and death. Having knowledge thereof, he and a companion made their escape to a friendly guerrilla force in the mountains, of which Diaz soon became captain, and while in command he attacked and defeated a force of Santa Anna's soldiers in the neighborhood. This developed his military genius and committed him to a life of arms. He raised and successfully commanded troops in the interest of the liberal cause against Santa Anna, in favor of Alvarez and Comonfort; and when Juarez was in contest with Zuloaga and Miramon he was the armed ally of Juarez; and afterwards, when the Church party secured the intervention of Napoleon, and during the reign of Maximilian, Diaz was always found fighting for the liberal and constitutional cause. He had command of Oaxaca and the south, and frequently of all the east; and when Juarez

was compelled to retire to El Paso during the occupation of the country by the French, Diaz was left in command of two-thirds of the entire country with unlimited power to raise, equip, and command troops in the interest of the president and the constitution.

He fought at Puebla with great distinction and ability on the memorable 5th of May, 1862, where the French were defeated. He again joined Ortega, and in resisting the combined armies in 1863 at the same place was wounded, and was among the prisoners there captured. He made his escape, raised and commanded other troops, was appointed commander-in-chief by Juarez, and finally defeated the allied armies of Puebla, and also recaptured the capital after the withdrawal of the French troops, and held it for the occupation of Juarez when his government was finally triumphant at Queretaro.

That was a meeting of no ordinary character, when the distinguished general and the unconquerable president met in the capital, each with his distinct honors resting proudly and gloriously upon him, the student of former years, now the successful soldier, and the governor-preceptor, now the unchallenged president and world-renowned statesman and reformer, to whom the destinies of Mexico were fully committed. Through uncounted trials and battles each had faithfully pursued his course, until now in peace and triumph they meet again, to renew more fully the confidences and friendships begun so long ago in the school in Oaxaca.

While in the field and at intervals of quiet and inaction in military affairs, Diaz had pursued his studies; and while yet an active soldier he received his degree as advocate, having fully qualified himself in all the de-

partments of study. It had been previously tendered him because of his many good qualities and distinctions, but he refused it until properly entitled thereto.

Notwithstanding the fact that Porfirio Diaz had become the supreme magistrate of Mexico by force of arms; and as the end and result of revolution, it became a conviction widespread among the people as his administration proceeded, that it was not merely to gratify a personal ambition that he took part in the revolution, and pressed it with his usual skill and energy to a successful conclusion. He had been too much of a patriot and statesman, as well as a courageous and self-sacrificing soldier, to look with complacency and approval upon the abuse of power and disregard of the constitution and laws manifested in the administration of Lerdo.

Having attained the high and very responsible position of president, he pursued a course of reform in the details of official life which resulted in a better civil service. He surrounded himself with the most able counselors, without regard to creed, politics or religion; and under auspices so noble the better part of the citizenship became united to support his administration, losing for the time all party names; so that the terms "porfirists," "lerdists," and "conservators" disappeared, and men of influence and ability everywhere gave a hearty support to the president in the work which purified official life and secured the advancement of the country.

Though in distant parts of the commonwealth there were those whose profession and interest it was and had been to commence and maintain revolutions and lawlessness, the wise and patriotic efforts of the administration to effect their pacification and overthrow were so successful that after the first year of Diaz's administra-

tion, it was indisputable that the country enjoyed greater repose than in any previous period of the national life.

The clergy had become somewhat reconciled to the enforcement and effects of the new order of things, which they had vainly opposed. Their political schemes and their financial efforts to uphold the revolution of Zuloaga and Miramon, the intervention of Napoleon III., and the empire of Maximilian, had not stemmed the tide of reform; and though they persecuted, they could not prevent Protestants from entering into the new fields of Mexico so recently opened to their missions. So the ecclesiastical party gave Diaz little trouble; and as he treated them with the consideration due to their religious profession, a very friendly feeling grew up on the part of the clergy toward the government. The government of Diaz was a strong one in the matters of military power, of conciliation, of devotion to the public welfare, of regard for the constitution and laws, and in the rights of congress and the state governments. His administration was in all things the opposite to that of Santa Anna.

Inasmuch as there were many soldiers who had fought for the constitution of 1857 against native and foreign armies, and many who had sustained the revolution also, who were suffering from wounds and disabilities, and as there were many widows and orphans of the martyrs who had fallen in those wars, it became the joy as well as the duty of Diaz to provide for their welfare and support by a liberal system of pensions. He also caused the issue of medals of honor to patriots who had rendered military services, which, all things being equal, entitled them to preference over others in posi-

tions of profit, honor and trust in the government which they had successfully maintained at the mouth of the cannon on the field of battle.

For the protection of the peace, and to secure the safety of the country against robbers and bandits, a system of rural guards was established, wherein many of the patriot soldiery found position and service. The diplomatic corps was purified, and new treaties were made with other nations, and many old ones were revised, whereby advantages were secured and abuses were corrected, all to the welfare of the commonwealth.

To all these beneficent and patriotic acts was added a wise and progressive system of education. Encouragement was given to business enterprises, whereby the country was placed on the highway of prosperity. Facilities for transportation by railroads and interior canals were provided, and subsidies were judiciously granted to steamship lines, which aided much in the upbuilding of domestic and foreign commerce.

That the country might receive all the revenues arising from external commerce and importations, a very extensive system of frauds upon the customs which had grown up by the neglect and indifference of previous administrations, whereby millions of dollars had been lost to the treasury, was broken up and corrected. Thus all departments of service and all sources of revenue were placed in a high degree of perfection in the interest of the Mexican people.

The department of justice was also investigated with salutary results. Under feeble and corrupt laws and rules of practice, abuses had grown up, so that criminals escaped the penalties due their offenses, and the legal processes were often made to advance, rather

than suppress crime, which had taken terrible proportions. This state of moral turpitude was very much favored by the civil wars and disorders which had so generally prevailed, and by distinctions of class. It had also been much encouraged and increased by the ease and facility with which absolution for all kinds of crime could be obtained from the clergy.

President Diaz made effort to put a stop to this lawlessness by the administration of prompt and strict justice; and to that end he established penitentiaries, and actively prosecuted and punished all violators of law, without benefit of clergy. He reorganized the police system throughout the cities, and organized a system of rural guards in the country districts, and so impressed even the old bandits with the rights and terrors of the government and the law that they enlisted in the cause of justice, and became valuable and faithful conservators of peace, of law and of order. Diaz employed one thief to suppress and capture other thieves, making it to their interest so to do.

It is said that on one occasion, when Diaz was enjoying the relaxation of a hunting trip, he entered the house of a native, where he saw some rats imprisoned in a box. The president inquired why they were thus confined, and if they were intended to be used as food? The answer was, that they were not intended to be used as an addition to the meat food of the family, but as rat exterminators. "How so?" said the interlocutor. "Well," said the ranchero, "we keep the rats until they are nearly starved, then we turn them loose, and in their famished condition they eagerly seize upon the first rat which they find, and ravenously devour him; this develops an appetite on their part for rat meat, which they

gratify by pursuing and devouring their fellows as long as there are any in and about the premises. Thus we use one rat to catch other rats, and so rid our premises of them all."

The president was at that time greatly exercised and annoyed by the number and extent of robberies and other outrages committed by bandits throughout the entire country. The thought occurred to try their extermination on the rat plan. It was plausible and apparently feasible, and so he sent a confidential agent to the chief of a notorious gang of outlaws, and with promise of personal safety induced him to come to a conference at the executive office.

The result was the organization of the "rural guards," as a special corps of semi-military, semi-civil conservators of law and order, which was commanded by the outlaw chief himself, and was composed in part of all the bandits in the country. They were clothed, armed, equipped, mounted, subsisted and paid on such a liberal scale that they found it profitable to keep the peace of the country themselves, and to enforce order even among their old comrades in all parts of the land. Their knowledge of the roads and recesses of the country enabled them to hunt down promptly and secure the arrest and punishment of offenders, so that Mexico has become as secure a country for travel as any other of civilized time or history; with all these reforms there ensued a reign of peace, order, and security hitherto unknown in the republic.

Under the direction of Diaz, the laws of Mexico were codified for the first time. Previously they had been a confused mixture of loose and contradictory decrees from colonial times, with subsequent additions of

the same style. He also reformed the irregular modes of procedure, which in many cases was suspiciously secret. The judicial system was remodeled, and courts of inferior and superior jurisdiction were established, so that law, order, and system took the place of the disorder and uncertainty which had so long prevailed.

As to his relation to the cult of the times, Diaz was strict with respect to the exercise of individual opinions and creeds. Though he was very little imbued personally with faith in religious dogmas, being quite liberal, even, it is said, to agnosticism, yet he conceded to all perfect liberty of thought and the full enjoyment of their rights and devotions, to be exercised in the form and manner to which they had been accustomed. And this is the reason why he had numerous friends and followers in the clerical party, for they knew that he would protect them against all exactions which passed the limits fixed by the laws of reform.

One of the principal causes of political intrigues which led to revolution and anarchy was the desire of a president to succeed himself in office. That this temptation should be removed the constitution was amended on May 5, 1878, by adding an article which prohibited the election of presidents and governors of states for consecutive periods. In spite of this, on the approach of the time for election in 1880, various states united in a movement to continue the executive power in the hands of a man so eminently qualified to promote the interests of the commonwealth, and to avoid exposing the country to the peril of reaction under a chief less apt and honorable. But Diaz remained firm in the promises and pledges he had given, to obey the law. Therefore he positively declined a re-election.

CHAPTER XX.

1880 TO 1894.

GONZALEZ PRESIDENT — POLICIES — CLERICAL AND JESUITICAL LAWLESSNESS—THE LAW SUSTAINED — DIAZ PRESIDENT — RESUME OF EXECUTIVE POWERS — DUTIES WELL PERFORMED — MEXICO HAS PEACE AND PROSPERITY—DIAZ HAS THREE CONTINUOUS TERMS—GENERAL STATEMENTS AS TO THE RIGHTS AND HOPES OF THE COUNTRY.

AMONG the aspirants for the presidency to succeed Diaz was General Manuel Gonzalez, first military officer of the government who had been the able assistant of General Diaz in some of his campaigns, and who by his opportune arrival on the field at Tecuac, had greatly contributed to the victory at that battle, and had lost his good right arm in the service of his country. He had the support of the friends of Diaz in his candidacy and in due time congress announced his election. He was inaugurated on the 1st of December, 1880.

He received the country in a state of perfect peace and in a career of prosperity unexampled in the history of the commonwealth, and it is worthy of note that no important revolutions occurred during his entire term. Still there were local disturbances in some cities and districts where the Catholics stirred up the fires of fanaticism because of the establishment of churches and schools by the Protestants; but the protection guaranteed

to them by the laws and the constitution was promptly and effectually given by the officers of the law, and the schools and missions were continued.

This absence of revolution and the feeble and ineffectual attempt at ecclesiastical persecution was a clear demonstration of the peace of the country and of the supremacy of the state over the church, and that the clergy were learning to appreciate and respect the new order of things in progressive Mexico.

To assist in the administration of affairs Diaz accepted a portfolio in the cabinet of Gonzalez for a short time, and by his aid the peace and development of the country continued. Some new business enterprises were commenced and others continued, but many citizens became hostile to the administration for real or fancied errors in the matter and manner of conducting the treasury department, but Gonzalez maintained his policies until the close of his term, when he was succeeded by Diaz, who had a vote of 15,969 out of a total of 16,462.

On the 1st of December 1884, Diaz was inaugurated president for the second time. Dressed sensibly in black and escorted by a small guard he appeared in the national palace and in the presence of senators, deputies, public functionaries and the diplomatic corps, took the oath of office and retired as tranquilly as he had entered. Upon him devolved special duties and obligations, in some measure arising from the embarrassed condition of the finances, that chronic complaint of Mexico; but he so applied himself to the work that order took the place of confusion, the credit of the nation appreciated with rapidity and her finances became greatly relieved.

Notwithstanding the limitations of the constitution

the president of Mexico is possessed of great power whereby he can make or mar the welfare of the country. His control of the army and his right to appoint chiefs and to remove them greatly exceeds the power vested in the president of the United States. His control of cabinet officers is very great, and his right to name officers of the diplomatic corps is full and ample. His power in treaty-making and also in levying tariff duties exceeds that of any other national executive. The establishment of custom houses is largely discretionary with him, as is also the right to open or close ports. He has also ample pardoning power. Add to this a decided influence in the greater part of the states by measures of supervising their elections and substantially of naming their governors, his military dispositions and his supervision of the public peace by direct action of independent representatives in all parts of the country, that the army is entirely under his view as chief, and his ability to direct its movements, nominate officers and regulate to a certain point its pay and accommodations, and the power of the president will be seen to attain vast proportions.

But so wisely had Diaz fulfilled his duties and exercised his discretionary powers that in his second term that part of the constitution which forbade the re-election of presidents for consecutive terms was rescinded, and thus privileged, the people of Mexico have kept him in the office of chief executive for three continuous terms, his last being for a tenure ending in 1896. Under his most excellent administration the country is more secure from revolution and strife and enjoys more the confidence of foreign nations as to its stability and

permanence than ever before since it became an independent nation.

With peace and security, capital and enterprise, have become emboldened to seek a place of investment and action and under the inspiring genius and the directing hand of the president, new resources have been developed and new methods of business adopted in agriculture, mining, manufacturing and transportation, which under the benign influence of peace and security, have only to contend with the laws of trade and competition, instead of the bandit and the revolutionist of a few years ago. From being a nation at war within itself and against itself, it has ceased all warlike strife. From being the field where ambitious and unscrupulous politicians elevated themselves at the expense of the blood and treasure of the people, it has become the land of self-sacrificing public servants who care for the elevation of their fellow-citizens and of the commonwealth.

The military spirit of the citizen has been directed to the maintainance of the public peace, and individual security, instead of being prostituted to the overthrow of the government and the elevation of political aspirants, which had been the case from the era of independence until the era of reform.

Since the separation of church and state education has made vast strides in Mexico. Her statesmen have recognized the fact that the stability of the republic depends upon the enlightenment of the masses, and the trend of legislation has been constantly in the right direction. In proportion to her financial ability Mexico is fostering popular education, and in her toleration of foreign instructors and schools shows that liberty of

conscience is becoming more and more a fact, and that fanaticism is giving place to enlightened love of liberty and truth.

The advance in these directions for the past twenty years is most gratifying, and more has been accomplished along those lines during these years than in all the previous years of Mexican history. There are free schools wherever there is sufficient population, and attendance under certain conditions is compulsory. The Church no longer has any supervision and its interference, even to the slightest degree, would not be tolerated and no clergyman is allowed upon any of the boards of public instruction.

No public interest has claimed more attention from President Diaz than the school system, and under his direction surprising and gratifying progress has been made. System prevails and all departments are forwarded with public funds, private contributions and personal encouragement.

The experience of the nation has demonstrated the wisdom of the separation of church and state. The Church has had opportunity to attain a degree of purity since divested of its great possessions, and since deprived of its political power, and the state has become stronger since becoming free from ecclesiastical interference. Experience has also demonstrated the wisdom of having the state assume the control of education, the providing by law for asylums, hospitals and sanatoriums and assigning to the Church solely its spiritual functions; and it has been found that each interest thus assigned has received greater care and consideration.

Mexico is a republic in a limited sense only. The word "republic" signifies a government of the people

in which the sovereign power is delegated to the hands of representatives elected by the masses. In reality Mexico is a confederation of states governed by an aristocracy, a government which approximates an autocracy, but without the hereditary feature attached. In view of the tendency of an appeal from the ballot box to the field of battle on the part of defeated candidates when two or more parties had contended for popular favor, it has been considered wise and as providing for the public peace to restrict the forming of distinct and contending political parties.

Therefore the government perpetuates itself by concentrating into one party, as far as possible, all who have talent as statesmen and all who are of high order in the army. A judicious censorship of the press is also exercised, and thus the welfare of the country is retained in the hands of the few. No public meetings of political character are permitted, and no public discussion of the principles or methods of the administration can therefore be tolerated.

Daily a telegraphic dispatch is received at administration headquarters from all parts of the country reporting the condition of each locality as to political or criminal disturbance, and from the government prompt instructions are given to correct wrongs with the force at hand if sufficient. If necessary re-enforcements can be ordered to aid the civil and military powers, and thus by prompt action outbreaks are suppressed. The president thus has his hand upon the public pulse at all times.

The population of Mexico is estimated at 12,000,000, and it is probable, considering the lack of education, the want of social organization and the poverty and lack

of business qualifications and habits of the people, that less than one-fourth of them are represented at a post-office to send or receive letters. Three-quarters of the people are Indians, or intimately related to them in mixture of blood, and as a class are such as in the United States would not be allowed to exercise the elective franchise.

It is claimed by Mexican statesmen that universal suffrage without discrimination is unjust; that to give the elective franchise to a population who are incapable of making a wise use of it is absurd; that to give the humble, ignorant negro or peon, who is scarcely removed from the conditions of slavery, an equal voice in national affairs with an educated man of the middle class, who is a master of business or a thinker, is evidently an injustice; and to concede an equal participation in politics to the vicious ragamuffin beggar—who is asking charity, who has no occupation and nothing at issue, and consequently has very few sensible ideas and no will to maintain order or to increase the common prosperity, as to the man of energy and business capacity who has property—is also an injustice. They hold that it is wise to restrict the right to vote to those who are possessed of goods and are educated. This restriction excludes only the dangerous elements, and it also promotes reform and elevation and stimulates to efforts to overcome the stigma of ignorance and pauperism, and inspires many to seek their own elevation.

Gradually the people are taking more interest in public affairs in their immediate localities and moving onward to acquire the needed qualifications for participation in political matters generally.

Still it is probable that at this time there is scarcely

one in ten of the inhabitants who possess qualifications for the intelligent exercise of the elective franchise. Mexico is in a state of evolution, and all depends upon the government whether the country has prosperity and development, or the reverse.

The army of Mexico numbers about 42,000 men. There is also an unpublished number of rural guards, who are located throughout the entire country to act as a police. They are specially located upon the lines of railroads and a squad of them stands at "attention" on the arrival of trains at stations to secure immunity from raids of robbers and under their influence, and as a result of their vigilance, the peace and security of Mexican travel and tour is as great as in the United States or Europe.

Without doubt a well organized and wisely commanded army is a necessity to preserve the peace of the country, and it is the wish of all classes and of all parties that military power should be invoked to that wise and profitable end, at the discretion of the president, to whom they have learned to look for the cessation of war, intestinal war, wherein brother has shed the blood of brother and the son has murdered his father, only to forward the personal ambitions of men who wished to secure position and power; the great clamor of the people has been for the cessation of this mutual murder, that the public peace should be preserved, that thieves should be arrested, that organized bands of robbers should be overthrown, that smugglers and contrabandists should be suppressed and punished, and that the hydra of revolution should be destroyed. For the attainment of all these desirable aims a permanent army is a necessity, and it is probable that when these

beneficent results have been attained, and when they have prevailed, until by reason of mental, moral and spiritual education, the people have settled into new lines of thought and custom, the sovereign power of the nation can be consigned to their hands directly.

United with Juarez as the saviour of the country from the consuming and destroying power of ecclesiasticism, the liberator of the south and the center, giving effective death-blows to imperialism in the last days of the war of reform, DIAZ has proved to be the rightful custodian of the wonderful power vested in the hands of the president of the Mexican republic.

Under his administration the country has attained the complete and happy consummation of intellectual liberty and progress, of which Hidalgo and Morelos dreamed, for which Farias and Comonfort contended, and which began to be established and enjoyed under the administration of the immortal JUAREZ.



CHAPTER XXI.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF GOVERNORS OF MEXICO.

Fernando Cortez, captain general.....	1523
Louis Ponce, captain general.....	1526
Marcos Auguilar, captain general.....	1526
Alonzo de Estrada, captain general.....	1527

FIRST AUDIENCIA.

Nuno de Guzman, president.....	1528
--------------------------------	------

SECOND AUDIENCIA.

Sebastian Ramirez, president.....	1531
-----------------------------------	------

VICEROYS.

Antonio de Mendoza, first official.....	1535
Various viceroys, sixty-two in number, up to Juan O'Donoju, sixty-fourth and last.....	1821

INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO, SEPTEMBER 28, 1821.

IMPERIAL REGENCY.

Iturbide, O'Donoju, Barcena, Perez, (a bishop, Yanez, Velasquez, Bravo and Vallentin, in- stalled, September 28,.....	1821
---	------

THE EMPIRE.

Iturbide crowned emperor of Mexico, July 21,....	1822
Abdication of Iturbide, March 20,.....	1823

EXECUTIVE POWER.

Victoria, Bravo, Negrete and Guerrero, installed, March 31,.....	1823
---	------

REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

Guadalupe Victoria, president, October 10,	1824
Vincent Guerrero, president, April 1,	1829
Jose M. Bocanegra, provisional president, December 16,	1829

EXECUTIVE POWER.

Pedro Velez, Lucas Alman and Louis Quintanar, December,	1829
Anastasia Bustamente, vice-president, assumed power January 1,	1830
Melchor Muzquiz, provisional president, August 14, 1832	
Gomez Pedraza, president, December 24,	1832
Valentin Gomez Farias, vice-president, April 1, . . .	1833
Santa Anna, president, May 15,	1833
Miguel Barragan, provisional president, January, 28,	1835
Jose Justo Carro, provisional president, February 27,	1836
Anastasia Bustamente, president, April 19,	1836
Javier Echeverria, provisional president,	1841
Santa Anna, provisional president,	1841
Nicholas Bravo, provisional president,	1842
Santa Anna, president, June 3,	1843
Valentin Canalizo, provisional president,	1844
Jose Joaquin Herrera, provisional president, December 5,	1844
Jose Joaquin Herrera, president, September 16, . . .	1845
Jose Maria Paredes, provisional president, January 3,	1846
Nicholas Bravo, provisional president, July 28, . . .	1846
Jose Marino de Salas, provisional president, August 22,	1846

Santa Anna, provisional president, December 23, . . .	1846
Gomez Farias, <i>ad interim</i> , January,	1847
Pedro Maria Anaya, substitute, April 2,	1847
Santa Anna, resumed the office, May,	1847
Manuel Pena y Pena, provisional president, Sep- tember 26,	1847
Pedro Maria Anaya, <i>ad interim</i> , November 12, . . .	1847
Manuel Pena y Pena, president supreme court, January 8,	1848
Jose Joaquin Herrera, president, June 3,	1848
Mariana Arista, president, January 15,	1851
Jean Ceballos, president supreme court, January 6, .	1853
Manuel M. Lombardino, provisional president, February 7,	1853
Santa Anna, dictator, April 20,	1853
Diaz de la Vega, provisional president, August 9, . .	1855
Martin Carrero, provisional president, August 15, . .	1855
Diaz de la Vega, provisional president, September, 11,	1855
Juan Alvarez, <i>ad interim</i> , October 4,	1855
Ignatio Comonfort, provisional president, Decem- ber 8,	1855
Ignatio Comonfort, president, December 1,	1857
Benito Juarez, president supreme court, January 10, .	1858
Benito Juarez, president,	1861
Benito Juarez, president, December,	1867
Benito Juarez, president, October,	1870
(Up to day of his death, July 18,)	1872
Sebastian Lerdo, president of supreme court, as- sumed executive office, July 18,	1872
Sebastian Lerdo, president, December 16,	1872
Jose Maria Iglesias, revolutionary president, Octo- ber,	1876

Porfirio Diaz. provisional president. December, . . .	1876
Porfirio Diaz, president, April 2,	1877
Manuel Gonzalez, president, December 1,	1880
Porfirio Diaz, president, December 1,	1884
Porfirio Diaz, president, December 1,	1888
Porfirio Diaz, president, December 1,	1892
(Term will expire, November 30,)	1896

QUASI EXECUTIVES.

Felix Zuloaga, revolutionary president, January 22, 1858	
Robles Pezuela, provisional president, December, . .	1858
Jose M. Pavon, president of supreme court,	1859
Manuel Miramon, provisional substitute,	1859
Felix Zuloaga, president, resumed power.	1860
Manuel Miramon, president,	1860

FRENCH INVASION.

Juan N. Almonte, provisional president, appointed by the French general, Laurencez,	1862
Regency appointed by French general, which de- cided for an empire,	1863
Maximillian crowned emperor, April 10,	1864
(Executed, June 19,	1867

CHAPTER XXII.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS.

MEXICO with about 5,000 miles of coast and several harbors has no navy and only a few harbor vessels. Though she has the castle of San Juan d'Ulua, which cost the Spanish government \$40,000,000, and the castle of Perote, a scientifically constructed fortress covering more than forty acres of ground, and has a fortress at Acapulco of the same character, and has forts in other parts of her territory; she has not a single cannon mounted, either in the interior or on the coasts.

San Juan d'Ulua is used as a prison where murderers and others of the worst criminal classes are confined and guarded, but not a gun is mounted to defend the harbor or city of Vera Cruz.

Mexico is not a warlike nation and her adjoining neighbor on the south, Guatemala, is a feeble power and has no warlike record or schemes.

The United States on the north has no policy of acquisition. Mexico can safely rest under the guardianship of the Union, which maintained the Monroe Doctrine in her behalf against Napoleon III. and his Catholic allies; and it is this assurance in that regard which protects the American coasts from Canada on the north to the straits of Magellan on the south; and it is so well appreciated that all of the American republics rest thereon fearlessly, and it is this which caused Brazil



"BELLE OF OANACA."

recently to prepare a monument and statue to the international policy-maker, James Monroe

Since the era of reform about 5,000 miles of railroads have been built in Mexico, with surveys for a great extension of that system of communication. Thus the outside world has been introduced to the people and the country. The natural result will be the permanence of the reforms, the improvement of business, the better education of the people and the maintainance of the progressive policies of the government.

It is estimated that 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 of Mexicans speak their native language, and the greater number of these can speak no other. They can neither read nor write nor ever had an ancestor who could; they never slept in a bed nor wore stockings, either having feet entirely bare or shod with rawhide sandals; the soles of whose feet resemble the cuticle on the foot of the camel. On the mountains and in the valleys, on the coasts, on the table-lands and on the slopes they live in almost native and aboriginal style and method, except that Catholic priests have somewhat modified their religious habits, have substituted idols of canvas, paint and wax for those originally of stone and clay, though in morals they have deteriorated.

The food of the millions is corn, beans and pepper, the same substantially as was the subsistence of the natives when conquered by Cortez in 1521, and had been for an indefinite period. The corn is first boiled, then hulled and afterwards mashed with a stone rubber upon a flat stone until of the consistence of dough, when it is patted between the hands down to a thin cake,

baked upon a hot stone or sheet iron, and comes off a "tortilla." The beans and pepper are stewed together in an earthen or iron vessel and to this is added, if fortune has favored, a modicum of meat.

When the cooking is completed all the family squat down upon the ground around the pot containing the stew, and making a spoon of the tortilla, they each at will, dip out and eat, spoon and all. Of table cutlery they are entirely destitute; dishes are unknown, tablecloth and napkins are *minus*, and having eaten their spoons no dishes remain to be washed. A jar of water or pulque and a gourd supply drink and cup.

Approach a country house—it is of adobe and stands without shade, fence or grass plot. The dogs and dust annoy you on the outside while the dust and fleas render your stay inside anything but comfortable. The floor is dirt. There are no beds, tables or chairs. The people sleep upon mats spread upon the ground. The bedding consists of the blanket or rebosa of the men and the same with a quilt for the women and children. On the coasts and low lands the houses are of palm leaf or other vegetable growth, constructed around a frame work of poles, and often look like straw or fodder stacks. Houses rarely have chimneys. In the city never.

Of books, papers and libraries, they are almost entirely destitute. A picture of the virgin of Guadalupe or of some saint or Scripture scene, possibly adorns the walls with a half-christian, half-heathen shrine of some kind at which to worship. Their education consists in the ability to say some prayers in Latin and make responses by rote, and to cross themselves and take off their hats upon meeting consecrated persons or passing

consecrated places. Millions are thus circumstanced and pass along generation after generation.

In cities and among the better educated and wealthy citizens in the country may be found better food, furniture and accommodations, graduated up to the most luxurious style of living, in the best of furnished abodes. In the City of Mexico upon the *pasco* can be seen turnouts of the finest coaches with pure-blood Andalusian horses and liveried servants, equal in style to European cities.

The houses of the wealthy and the better classes are built with a court or "patio" within, which is square and of sufficient size to contain a fountain with trees, shrubs, vines and flowers. The horses and carriages are kept in the lower story, while the rooms above are the family apartments. Often a highly walled lot of ground is attached which is filled with trees and fountains, and thus in that hot country becomes a perfect paradise. Such enclosures are seldom absent from church property and residences of the clergy.

The inside of the house is the home, the outside the castle. The windows are barred and closely guarded from intrusion by shutters. Rarely is glass found in the windows. As evening approaches members of the family open a part or all of the shutters and enjoy the air and views of life on the outside, but seclusion and exclusion is the rule. In the city the houses never are supplied with chimneys; in the country rarely are they to be found. Cooking is done and occasional heat secured by the use of charcoal and braziers.

The one entrance is a large double door through which carriages can pass. These doors are thick and strong and in the older houses are made to shut against

an outside stone barrier at the bottom which effectually guards the entrance from unwelcome guests. This was required in revolutionary times, for the rabble as well as the soldiery sought spoils from any and all who had goods of value. A small door is usually made within the main one, through which persons can pass.

By law all ingress or egress to and from houses on streets in towns and cities must be by the one door on the street. Thus no one can retreat by the back way, and there are no alleys. At each intersection of streets a policeman stands day and night, and thus the coming and going of all is under the surveillance of the officers of the government

Lands are not surveyed and platted as in the United States. When land is disposed of by the government, it is only in large quantities, and then it is described and defined by monuments, metes and bounds. At this time the government, to avoid speculators, sells only to those who give assurance of actual improvement by persons or colonies.

The Indian title is never extinguished or recognized, the theory of the conquerors remains in force, and that was that the Indian had no rights which a Catholic conqueror was bound to respect. This has entailed within the native an odium towards the white man as vivid and intense as in the first days of the conquest and spoliation. But he is powerless.

Colonists are left to make terms with those who live upon lands which were the homes of their ancestors. Many on attempt have found this a difficult matter. The native is not anxious for employment at manual labor upon his tropical homestead, where profuse and lavish nature has furnished him a simple fare

without great effort on his part. He lives much in the open air, dresses simply, where he dresses at all, eats what he can get, has little use for money, knows nothing about accumulating wealth and has no sympathy with progress or enterprise, and therefore nothing to stimulate him to laborious action. Nor is he willing that others should intrude upon his old home and haunts, and he finds many methods to thwart civilization, cultivation and modernism.

When the stranger immigrant wishes to secure improved lands or small tracts there is great difficulty in finding any who will dispose of their ancestral entailment; immigrants find little encouragement and soon ascertain that their room is preferred to their company.

Lands are not taxed, so large holdings are attended with no expense, except as to that part which is worked. When an heir succeeds to an estate, he makes careful estimate as to the amount of money he will need to live at the place and in the style which suits his fancy, and then he works his lands for that sum only. He will entail the estate intact as he received it, and thus generations "have, hold and keep," for they rarely ever sell.

Taxes are levied largely upon incomes, business and enterprise. The keeper of a modest restaurant in the city, who paid his landlord \$35 per month, was taxed upon his business \$20 per month for the benefit of the government and \$1.25 per year on occupation, while in addition he would pay an annual tax upon the gross amount of business done.

The tax on coffee buyers is \$600 per annum for each place of purchase and a like amount for each traveling agent or purchaser. Coffee sacks are 6 cents each

on importing the sacks and 5 cents each when exported full of coffee. The export tax on coffee is \$1 per 100 pounds. A stamp tax which reaches all business documents, advertisements and posters produces a large revenue.

It is the current remark of foreigners doing business in Mexico, that the government officials lie awake of nights studying up old laws and planning new ones whereby successful business enterprise may be more heavily taxed; and it is a constant struggle on the part of the enterprising capitalist who has invested in the country to avoid substantial confiscation.

Of the Americans who located in or made ventures of a business nature in Mexico up to a recent date, the natives had no very good opinion, and summed up their estimate as follows: "Frontiersmen, mean, vulgar and indecent, fugitives, vagabonds, refugees from justice, gamblers by profession, speculators in mines, peddlers, charlatans and adventurers, politicians who have been rolling around until they have reached Mexico; workers on railroads who have been discharged, and lawyers and doctors without clients, constituting the worst element of strangers who exist in the country; of bad form, without conscience or morality, who discard as ridiculous the idea of tolerating any principle of justice, interfering with the affairs of the nation, setting by this action the worst possible example and creating the worst possible opinion against the probity and good intentions of the Americans. Living the lives of idlers in hotels and saloons, talking in a loud voice and in a boastful manner about 'revolution, invasion and mani-

fest destiny.' Chewing tobacco, drinking liquor blaspheming, playing billiards and conducting themselves in such a manner as to cause disgust among respectable Americans as well as Mexicans."

"One of the first signs in populations of recent formation along side of the railroads, showing the superior culture of the north, consists in large letters, announcing the sale of 'Whisky Punch,' 'Brandy Smash,' 'Champagne Cocktails,' 'American Mixed Drinks,' and other things of that style. It is rarely the case that one hears the American speak his language in the country without the use of boast and blasphemy."*

Of Europeans was written: "The Europeans in Mexico take little interest in the progress of the country, having neither sympathy with Mexicans nor their institutions, and on the contrary giving offensive expression to their superiority. They maintain their own social life, attend their own schools, clubs and places of amusement and mix very little with the natives."

"The Mexicans receive business advances from the people of the United States with the same warmth and ardor that they do those of the French.

"But the Spaniard is the most odious of all nationalities. Under the policy of exclusion which prevailed for three centuries, all strangers were kept out of Mexico; so when the era of independence dawned there were only Spaniards, Mexicans, and a mixed class composed of the union of the blood of those two peoples. The Spaniards were educated and used to political power, and they regarded all creoles and mixed people and natives with contempt.

"The French commenced to come to the country

*Biografia de Diaz.

soon after the establishment of independence, and engaged in the hotel and restaurant business; and their efforts resulted in offering to the people a better service than had the Spanish. The Germans came at the same time, and became the best merchants of the period.'*'

At this time the French and the Germans do the most of the dry goods trade. The Spanish-speaking people have the grocery and produce, and the English have the hardware and machinery, and still hold the railroads to the port of Vera Cruz, of which they were the original projectors. Americans share with the English in railroads from the United States, while the Mexican government owns the Tehuantepec line from the Gulf to the Pacific. The English are mainly the bankers and brokers, but Americans are beginning to share the business. Ocean commerce is in the hands of foreigners, but the coasting trade is done by Mexicans.

Of the state of public and private morals in Mexico little need be said to give emphasis to the well known fact, that in no strictly Roman Catholic country has a high moral standard ever been urged or attained; and a few facts will show that Mexico is no exception to the rule.

Speaking of the ancient artificial pyramid at Cholula the Mexican historian truthfully says, that the same is now occupied with a Church with two towers and a large bell in each, that it is mouldy and time-stained without, but adorned with paint and gold and artistic displays, with portraits and statuary within; and that in the city adjoining are many grand churches with

*Biografía de Diaz.

the Plaza de Torros, or bull ring, in the midst, where the clerks and the faithful of the Church reunite to see the bloody sport of the bull-fight after they have assisted in their divine offices in public service or mass in their respective places of worship in the morning. It should be borne in mind that bull-fights take place on Sundays and feast days only; like Sunday schools of Protestantism.

In the City of Mexico the "soiled doves" rise from their couches in licensed houses at 6 o'clock in the morning of Sundays, attend early mass for the quieting of their consciences and retaining their churchly relation, and then return to their shameful occupation, assured, under the system of appeasing God and securing condonment for past and contemplated crime for a money consideration, taught them by their priests, that they stand justified by *cash* while others depend upon *faith* to secure that saved condition.

Many a bright youth in the city is pointed out as the progeny of a priest; and it is said that if all the clergy were to strictly observe their vows of celibacy a certain class of specialists would have less practice and reduced incomes.

One of the hindrances to securing converts to Protestantism from the mestizos and natives is the new and rigid system of morals and spiritual purity taught and urged as inseparable from Christian living within the pale of Protestant churches.

On Sundays lottery tickets are sold on the streets, and at Church doors, drinking places are open in all parts of city and country, gambling, cock and bull fights are tolerated and licensed; fairs, markets, hawking and peddling compete with open stores; mechanics

and toilers follow their regular occupations; fandangos and balls are openly maintained and patronized, and all, all, all, proprietors and patrons are in good standing in the Roman Catholic church if they have duly patronized the priest and paid his fees.

By reason of the excessive charges made by priests for performing the marriage ceremony many thousands of impecunious loving couples in Mexico *take up* with each other annually, and then from time to time pay money into the hands of the priest, which finally amounting to the \$10 or \$15 required, the pair are duly married, and their children baptized at one and the same time and occasion. This lamentable state of public morals caused the transferring of the marriage rite from the religious to the civil order on the part of the reformers; but the clerical anathema still sways the public mind, for there, as in the United States, the Church proclaims that marriage by a magistrate or Protestant, and not by a Roman Catholic priest is void, and the offspring thereof are bastards. "She (the Church) has the right of treating all marriages which are not solemnized according to the form of the Council of Trent as invalid, even those solemnized according to a form prescribed by the civil law."—Canon laws of Pius IX., 1864. Under this teaching the people adopt and the priests force the concubinage as stated, the rule being, "no money no marriage ceremony."

Just after the traveler on the "National" has crossed the 10,000 feet of mountain ridge that bounds the "Valley," and has the City of Mexico nearly in view, he can see off to the right a magnificent Church—the "Church of the Thieves." Why so called? Well, in the days when bandits made profitable forays upon silver

trains *en route* to the city, many pious thieves performing their devotions in chapel of humble proportions, ere they went out to business, vowed a good bestowment upon the Church if successful. Being greatly prospered by a raid soon after, and attributing it to their prayers and vows, and being moved by the maxim, "honor among," etc., they testified their piety and loyalty by furnishing funds from their robberies, whereby was built a grand Church; hence the name.

In 1826 in a conversation with the British minister and lamenting the debased state of the Mexican people, a distinguished member of a cathedral chapter used this remarkable and truthful phrase, "Son muy buenos Catolicos, pero muy malos Christianos," *They are very good Catholics, but very bad Christians*, and that it had been too much the interest of the lower orders of the clergy to direct the attention of their flocks, rather to a scrupulous observance of the *forms* of the Catholic church, than to its moral and spirit, from which their revenues derived little advantage.

To commit theft is such a habit with many of the population that all who have valuables secure them by the most careful exercise of precautions, such as high walls, strong doors, huge bolts and locks, closely barred and shuttered windows, and the possession of fire arms ready for use.

But should a thief secure personal property and dispose of it to a "fence" or otherwise, it would be of no avail for the despoiled owner to find, identify and claim it; for, under the usages of the country, the possession of personal property, coming through the channel of purchase, carries title. The claimant would be in-

structed to catch and punish the thief as his only redress.

Should a citizen resist an attempt at assault or theft he, as well as the offender, would be arrested and held for trial.

Railroad companies have often lost valuable property by theft, and on finding it in the hands of a purchaser have failed to recover it, on the above named usage. So, having obtained wisdom by experience, it is now a rule with all officers and employees of such companies to remove carefully all links, pins, and other valuable parts of cars and trains, and to lock them in secure places, otherwise they would be irrecoverably lost by theft.

But justice is prompt and inexorable in many cases. Under the administration of justice by the processes adopted by the rural guards, when any thief, or other criminal, especially a noted one, is captured he is rarely brought to trial, but is dispatched en route and the report is made that he attempted to escape, and that his death was necessary. By this means justice has her dues, and the government avoids excessive criminal costs.

In February, 1894, when the writer was in Mexico, the usual Sunday night fandango was being enjoyed at the mining city of Pachuca. An incensed Mexican shot and killed a woman for real or fancied offense. Immediately the doors were locked, and all persons placed under arrest. The proper civil officers were called, a trial had with all witnesses required to prove the crime; sentence was passed, the offender turned over to the proper officer, who kept him in custody, the priest called, who by Roman Catholic processes prepared the

culprit to join the society of the blessed in the hereafter; and on Tuesday morning at sunrise the convict was executed by the discharge of the unerring volley from fire arms.

Although Yucatan is a state of Mexico it is not entirely subject to the national dominion. It is practically a peninsula, and divides the Gulf of Mexico from the Caribbean sea. Its length is 260 miles north and south, and 180 miles wide. It is but little elevated above sea level, and is peculiarly flat. The basic formation is fossiliferous limestone. The soil is loam of extraordinary richness, which is covered with dense forests of rare and valuable timber. Scattered throughout these forests are the ruins and remains of large cities, and of magnificent and stupendous edifices which, doubtless, once were temples for gods and palaces of monarchs. The outward and inward walls of these structures are covered with sculpture, bas-reliefs and inscriptions which, by alphabetical and hieroglyphic writings, present volumes of history.

The perfection of form, the harmony of design and the excellence of execution, surpassing the art exhibited in Old World ruins, testify to the high degree of civilization attained by people and builders. The beauty of the decorations and the exquisite proportions of these wonderful structures inspire unspeakable emotions of amazement and admiration within all who are permitted to behold them.

Dr. le Plongeon, a noted explorer and archeologist, has recently secured and translated some of the few MSS saved from destruction at the hands of the Roman Catholic Bishop Landa, who accompanied the Spanish

invaders, and who, with characteristic iconoclasm, committed to the flames all literature and works of civilization of native creation which he could secure. These MSS are written on sheets of parchment, prepared from deer skins, in the colored characters of an alphabet formulated in a pre-historic period.

The northern part of Yucatan is occupied by an enterprising and thrifty population, who have constructed railroads from their principal cities to their seaports without aid from outside capital, and whose productions and commerce have made them independent. That part alone holds official relations with the Mexican government.

The southern part is occupied by a remnant of the Mayan nation, whose idioms are almost identical with the inscriptions upon the ruins of the country. The shameful cruelties inflicted upon them by the Spaniards has entailed hatred and hostility, which has been manifested in their many efforts to throw off the yoke of Spain and of Mexico whenever opportunity has offered itself.

During the war with the United States the natives took advantage thereof and succeeded, after a long and sanguinary struggle, in freeing the southern part from the white man's control. In their strongholds, in the southwest part, they remain independent, and are a terror to the white man and his Indian allies. Their war cry is "death to the white monkeys." Their hostility and prowess forbids tour, research and travel through that part of Mexico.

One of the most notable facts in Mexico is the control which the state exercises over the Church and the

clergy. All Churches are under the supervision of the state, which limits the number of the clergy who may be tolerated in their professional capacity.

This is reactionary, as in the days before the reform many more of the sacerdotal order were imposed upon the various communities than were needed, as in Puebla, a city of 70,000 inhabitants, where for each thousand half-naked, bare-footed Indians, there was a costly Church to maintain, and an aggregate of 300 of the ecclesiastics; and in like manner, if not in proportional numbers, the clergy were distributed throughout the country.

Processions used to be numerous, and Church parades and imposing demonstrations were of daily occurrence. Priests wore the insignia of their offices in the form of a peculiar hat and coat. Now no processions are allowed, nor are the clergy permitted to dress in any manner to show their sacerdotal character; and as elsewhere stated, there are 10 religious orders in the country, therefore no Sisters of Charity are to be seen. This rigid discrimination is also of a reactionary nature, inasmuch as insurrections and political revolutions came from such orders, and it is ungraciously received by the subjects of the discipline.

While it is manifestly dictatorial and unrepugnant for the state authorities to limit the forming of distinct political parties, to exercise censorship over the press, to restrain adverse criticism of the administration, to forbid religious societies and to restrain forms of dress and public demonstrations, the peace of the country practically demands it.

With millions of superstitious Indians susceptible of being led to revolution, and with a clergy who have

too often shown their wish and will to dominate the civil government by church revolt, it is necessary to forestall action by such methods.

Ask an intelligent Mexican business man how it was possible for Juarez and his associate reformers to dispossess the Church of property and power? The answer will be, "the priests left their true domain of religion, became politicians, and worked against the material and political interests of the country. Having entered politics they were met by a stronger party which put them out of political and financial place, power and possessions; and though I myself, and almost all other Mexican citizens, receive the communion at the hands of the priests as loyal Roman Catholics, we yet do not want the priests to rule the state."

Ask an ecclesiastic the same questions, and why the priests and their religious clientage submit to the decrees and results of the reform, and he will answer, "the Church is a Church of peace and submits to wrong on that principle."

While there is no distinct class who advocate the annexation of Mexico to the United States, yet if broached as a proposition none would be likely to advocate it as gladly as would the clergy, who would thereby be translated from the exclusiveness of Catholic Mexico to the exceedingly broad liberalism of the Protestant United States.

KINGS of thought and HEROES of action took part in the work of reform in Mexico.

Unfamed statesmen and patriots took counsel, shaped sentiment and devised ways and means without ostentation or publicity. Upon a few notable characters fell the duty of taking the lead, such as Juarez whose crowning eulogium "He disdained to compromise" was a summary of his rigid adherence to principle. Lerdo, cabinet officer and companion of Juarez, distinguished in the law, still whose ambition and subtilty finally led to his overthrow. Ortega, whose brief, brilliant career of success in the command of troops in the field, and whose defense of Puebla gave renown, and who refused proffered honors at the hands of the French as an inducement to his betrayal of Juarez and the constitution.

Diaz also, whose genius, generalship and patriotism were inherent and intuitive. He also refused the seductive offer from Bazaine of civil place which promised almost imperial power, as Maximilian's star was being eclipsed and Napoleon III. wished to substitute a Mexican for the Austrian on the throne. Nearly as stubborn as Juarez and quite as astute and learned in the law as Lerdo, Diaz with his patriotism and skill has been equal to every phase of emergency in the evolution of true republicanism in Mexico.

The ideal "citizen president," the nearly dictatorial but withal paternal controller of the government and the people, endearing himself to all. Possessed of personal magnetism, partly intuitive, but consisting largely in his methods, he secures the fealty of all with whom he has official relations.

Wresting power from Lerdo, *ae*, by meriting it,

secured alliances with Lerdo's best friends and supporters, notably Romero Rubio, a distinguished lawyer and patriot, who entered the cabinet; and Escobedo, who as general, commanded Lerdo's troops, was first captured by armed men and then by the kindness of Diaz.

But the most marked instance of Diaz's peculiar style is seen when he captured Puebla from the French. There, among the hundreds of officers captured, and whose fate by the rules of that war was death, was a French officer from whom Diaz had once escaped, for whose recapture \$10,000 was officially offered, to which the now captive had then added \$1,000 from his private purse, all to be paid for the capture or death of Diaz.

The prisoners were under guard in a church, Diaz enters and finds them, like true Catholics in *extremis*, confessing to the priests and making disposition of their earthly effects; all overwhelmed with sorrow and many in tears. He surveyed the scene, called attention, addressed them as "*friends*" and assured them that he would without consent from his superiors, take the responsibility of disposing of them in his own manner. He told them that though they had made a mistake in fighting against the republic, they still were needed as good citizens of the same, and adding many words of kindness and patriotism, assured them that they were free. Needless is it to say that he bound them to him as friends with hooks of steel. The Frenchman could not find words to express his very peculiar emotions, and Diaz only escaped a rush of hand shaking and the peculiar "Mexican embrace" of hundreds by immediate and precipitate retreat.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A BULL FIGHT.

A CALM Sunday morning has dawned upon sun-bright, flower-bedecked Mexico. Deep toned bells and musical chimes from many cathedrals and churches have called to early mass, and thousands of people have responded. Throngs have assembled and duly celebrated the mass and punctilliously fulfilled the forms and duties of their Christian faith for the morning hours.

The afternoon comes and the same pious people throng the streets; they press in multitudes to a common center which is the "Plaza de Torres" or bull ring, where without violating their Roman Catholic consciences, they give themselves up to the pleasure of the sport the balance of the day.

The history of bull fighting in Mexico is but another chapter added to that of Spain, simply changing the names of the stars of the profession. The people of Mexico inherit the bloody fascination of the sport, and what has been written of the exciting *funcions* in the Plaza de Torres of Spain will describe as well the fights in the arena of Puebla, Toluca, Tlalnepantla, the City of Mexico or any other of the republic. It is very much like baseball in America, the national place of excitement and amusement. One is bloodless or intended to be, the other is a failure without the excitement of a sanguinary outflow.

But it does not follow that the bull fighter is a "tough." In the profession are college graduates who have held with credit the degree of A. M.; and Ponciano Diaz, the star of Mexico, recently reported killed by a bull, was a modest, well-appearing man of intelligence and good breeding, brave but not a bully, correct but not foppish, and altogether not spoiled by his professional success; he was a semi-god to the masses, and the impersonation of all that was great to the people. This had been demonstrated in a positive manner from time to time, when they unhitched the mules from his carriage, and with shouts hundreds of them hauled him through the streets in triumph to his hotel.

The Plaza de Torres is in shape very like the cyclorama buildings in America, only much larger; inside is a monster amphitheater seating thousands of people, encircling the arena is a high fence or barrier with a foot rail about eighteen inches from the ground on the inside on which the performers step and leap over the fence when too closely pursued by the bull, landing in an open space between the audience and the ring.

The opening of the performance is brilliant and exciting, the audiences are nearly always large, sometimes numbering 15,000 to 20,000, all eager for the fray; gay colors are everywhere, bands are playing the liveliest airs and all is excitement.

The feeling of the novice under the circumstances is one of amazement and anxious expectation; there is a grand flourish of trumpets, a gaily caparisoned horseman dashes in, gallops to the president's box. A key is thrown to him—the key of the door leading to the pens where the animals are kept. The horseman catches the key (or fails at his peril), and gallops back

to the entrance and disappears. If the key is not caught the man is hissed out of the ring.

Another flourish of trumpets and loud huzzas from 20,000 of throats announce the coming of the company. It is indeed a brilliant spectacle. The matadores and banderilleros on foot and the *picadores* on horseback, all clad in the gayest, grandest costumes, and in all colors and gold embroideries, march to the president's box.

The president is a municipal or state officer and has full direction of the performance. He is saluted by the company, the superfluous performers retire, and all is ready for the fight. Now the wildest excitement prevails and the scene is the picture of pandemonium. All eyes are turned toward the low strong doors under the band stand; they are thrown open and from a darkened pen the bull bounds into the ring. As he passes under the rail a steel barb with ribbons attached, showing the breeder's colors, is fastened in his shoulder. He gallops to the middle of the ring, stops and looks around with fear and astonishment. He looks grand. Surprise and fear give way to rage. He paws the earth and snorts in his frenzy, and discovering the red cloth of the *espada*, starts toward him on the run. The man goes over the fence, but not too quickly, for he has hardly disappeared before the bull's horns are thrust through the boards. The animal turns and spies a horse, and woe be unto the horse for his time has come. The picador with his lance is totally unable to keep the bull from goring the horse and it is killed.

The horses are not valuable ones, being old and retired, but gotten up for this occasion are blindfolded and ridden in to a certain fate. Another man is chased out of the ring and another horse wounded. A signal

from the president and a bugle call directs the horses to be removed. Now comes the most interesting part of the performance, the thrusting of the *banderillas*. The bull is surrounded by his tormentors. It is a contest between skill and brute force.

A *banderilla* is a wire about two and a half feet long. On the end is a sharp barbed point and the wire is covered its entire length with colored paper ribbons. The *banderillo* is the man who places them into the bull's shoulders; he must stand in front of the animal and wait the attack. The bull, maddened at his audacity, starts at him at full speed; the man steps out of his way gracefully, and skilfully thrusts the *banderillas* in the bull's shoulders as he passes by. As soon as the animal can check his headlong speed, he turns only to find another *banderillo* with two more *banderillas*. These and two more are thrust into his shoulders, all hanging there. Bellowing now, he is wild.

Another signal from the president instructs that the bull has had enough and must be killed. This is where the *matador*, the *primer-espada*, distinguishes himself. His skilful killing of the bull by a single thrust of the sword is what determines the brilliancy of the star. The *matador* must face the bull, sword in hand, and await the attack. It is assassination to strike while he is at rest, and calls for hisses and missiles from the audience. The blood-red cloth or *muleta* is flaunted in front of the bull. The maddened animal closes his eyes and makes one more dash for victory or revenge and falls in death, the sword of the *matador* is thrust between the shoulders to the hilt and has pierced the animal's heart.

Wild bursts of applause fill the air; hats, canes,

cigars by the bushel are thrown into the ring by the delighted spectators; men shout and sing, ladies wave their handkerchiefs and mantillas; the matador bows his acknowledgments, throws the hats and canes back to their owners, who seem grateful that he should honor them thus.

The band plays, the gates are opened, three gaudily decorated mules harnessed abreast are driven in, a rope is thrown over the dead bull's horns and he is dragged out. The wait between the acts is not more than a minute. The bugle calls, the low doors open and another bull gallops in, and thus on till six are killed at one performance. But should the advertised number not be killed, then on the next Sunday the number omitted must be added to the victims for that time.

The skill and agility of the performers is something wonderful and consists, in part, in holding the red cloak in such a way that the bull rushes for the cloak instead of him who holds it. The bull shuts his eyes and does not see the man as he quickly steps to one side and escapes, but often he must save his life by flight and leap over the barrier around the ring.

The *Plaza de Torros* is the bull ring, and the *funcion* is the performance. The best seats are on the shady side, those in the sun being sold at cheap prices. Seats in the shade, \$2 to \$3; boxes from \$12 to \$20, according to the company playing. The star fighter is a matador or *espada*, and he it is who finally kills the bull with his sword. The *banderillo* is the man who thrusts the *banderillas* in the animal's shoulders, and the *banderilla* is a dart with a barbed point, ornamented with colored ribbons. The plait of hair or queue, worn on the back of the head by a bull fighter,

indicates that he has passed the degree of banderillo. If he commits any offense against the code of ethics, or repeatedly fails in the act of placing the banderillas, his queue is cut off in public and he is forever disgraced. The picadore is the man on horseback, but he doesn't stay there long after the entrance of the bull; yet while he does, he goads the animal with a pike or pole with a steel point. The capeadores are the men who handle the capes or cloaks which are flaunted in the bull's face to worry him. The muleta is the red cloth used by the espada at the killing, and the cachetero is he who puts the finishing dagger stroke between the horns; and when he has done so six times (with exceptions as stated) the show is over.

Responding to an influence of moral reform, an effort was made a few years ago to legislate against bull fighting, and all performances were interdicted in the federal district. Now there are four rings within the city limits, and no well regulated town in the republic is without its Plaza de Torres.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ROME UNDER CATHODE, OR "X," RAYS.

The Aztec was entirely unacquainted with the horse, the mule, the burro, the cow, the ox, the sheep, and the hen; and also had no wheeled vehicles, nor did he know of iron in any form. His implements of metal were made of copper. Superior to the North American Indian, he was a house builder, using stone, wood and brick. He was also a city maker, and constructed aqueducts, dikes and causeways, to make city life pleasant. As an engineer his attainments and skill were of a high order.

He was a record keeper, and preserved his civil, political and religious laws, histories and literature, in a style peculiar to himself—by pictorial illustrations, being words, sentences and idioms, in pictures. Doubtless the Aztec records and histories contained data, and possibly positive information as to the pre-historic races who constructed the pyramids of Mexico—larger at the base than those of Egypt—and told of those who built the monuments, temples, houses, fortifications, stairs, courts and paved ways, which exist as ruins all over Southern Mexico and Central America.

But the historian who looks to Mexico to solve problems of antiquity is confronted with voiceless stone and a blank page; for while the Aztecs were at the apex of their literature, art and science, the Roman Catholic made his appearance, and got in his work. Then these

iconoclasts—yes, those worse than image-breakers—those art and science crushers, those education destroyers, gathered together all of the records of the Aztec nation, their histories, their laws, their decrees, their religious tenets, their astronomical records of observation, investigation and conclusion (which had attained such perfection that they had a more accurate calendar than had the astronomers of Europe) in short, gathered together all the literature of a highly civilized people into mountains of bound volumes and manuscripts, and then burned all to ashes—and destroyed a great civilization—in the name of Christ? *Their kind of Christ!*

Would not Rome do so again not only in Mexico but in the United States, so that priestcraft might be in the ascendant? Could go back to temporal power, though she denounced and silenced the Galileo, the Copernicus, the Luther, of to-day, and crushed out the American public school system as pernicious and unworthy of Catholic patronage? Forget not this: "Great are the rights of nations, and they must be heeded; but greater and more sacred are the rights of the Church," as said Pius IX.

Pius IX. is dead and gone to his account. But Leo XIII. lives to perpetuate the work of iconoclasm. He also is on record as to Rome's policies and politics. In November, 1885, he issued the following:

"We exort all Catholics to take an active part in all municipal affairs and elections, and to further the principles of the Church in all public services, meetings and gatherings. All Catholics must make themselves felt as active elements in daily political life in the countries where they live. They must penetrate wherever possible in the administration of civil affairs. All Catholics should

do all in their power to cause the constitutions of the states, and legislation, to be modeled in the principles of the true Church."

This commits Rome to the work of overthrowing our constitutions. Catholics are strictly "in it." So are Americans. No more disguise. Religion is religion, but politics is politics. A microscope must possess rare power to discover any line separating Rome's religion from politics. The corner stone, arch and keystone of Rome are Peter, Priest, Politics.

The irrepressible conflict is on, and this country cannot survive half Rome and half American. Let all who think alike prepare to act together.

The secessionist of American history established, not a monarchy or a hierarchy, but a republic. The Confederacy was to run parallel with the federal Union, each with a bill of rights locating sovereignty in the people.

Leo XIII. now plots a revolution to subvert the constitution and establish a hierarchy with sovereignty vested in the Vatican; the seat of empire of the alleged "true Church." Leo adopts peculiar and characteristic methods to unify his forces for political action. To adults he applies the policy of segregation. His priests and clergy of higher order are forbidden to hold any fraternal conventions with other Church people. His communicants are called out of American benevolent and social orders, and societies under pain of excommunication, and are commended to membership in the "Clan na gael," the Catholic Knights, the Knights of Father Mathew, the Ancient Order of Hibernians; and of that ilk, into whose portals it is impossible for any to enter who are not Roman Catholics. In those societies

oath bound obligations to Rome and her policies divide or obliterate loyalty to American principles and constitutions.

All that is lacking to subvert the spirit and letter of our constitutions is enough Roman Catholic voters—or time serving political demagogues—or indifferent citizens who close their eyes and cry peace, peace; who ignore Rome's secret organizations and methods, but are painfully afflicted over patriotic efforts of Americans to effect counter organization with the sole object of preserving religious and political liberty.

Had Rome—of such—a majority, the world would soon realize the reign of the Pittsburg Bishop O'Connor's declaration. "Religious liberty is merely endured until the opposite can be carried into effect without peril to the Catholic Church." And "Protestantism has not, and never can have, any rights where Catholicity has triumphed;" as said the Catholic Review, June, 1865.

Lovers of liberty, political, religious and social, should not stand on the defensive alone, but should carry the war into the camp of popular education's only enemy, Rome, religious liberty's only enemy, Rome, the constitution's only enemy, Rome, by the most persistent, aggressive and effective methods, and by individual and organized effort, and thus meet force with force in their chosen field—the secrecy of council, plan and united action.

To maintain the orders and exhortations of Rome in America her subalterns resort to insidious methods. They sustain them upon no publicly proclaimed platform, offer no argument, appeal to no intelligence, nor ask popular verdict upon testimony, argument or prin-

ciple. With men and women it is an imperative order; while the declaration and admission made by Father Dalton, that children to remain Catholics must have a prepossessed, prejudiced, parochial school education points out the course adopted with children.

They therefore commence with the child, and excluding—or perverting—instruction in philosophy, historic truths, political and moral science, natural rights of manhood, religious liberty, civil law and independent research, they inculcate Church dogmas, fables of the supernatural, legends of the dead past, and superstitions of the present. They boldly and broadly arrogate the bestowment, by God, upon Peter, and his alleged pontifical successors, of all things material and spiritual, carrying with the gift all power and rights, over men and over governments, civil, political and social. All this in extensive and continuous detail is burned, as it were, into the mind and the conscience of the pupil, and creates a blind faith and a loyal devotion calculated to abide through life.

While there may be individual Catholics who would not favor the pope's dictum in America it would yet be an insult to intelligence, to assume that any communicant in America could in any degree influence the decrees and policies of Rome.

Thus there is in America a bigoted class, almost as numerous as may be Rome's communicants, which is the army of the propaganda ever ready to sustain Church efforts to change constitutions, control legislation and politics, secure official positions and patronage, and overthrow the public school system. The most skilful, experienced and conscienceless politician in the world, the Roman pontiff himself, giving orders, point-

ing out the lines of action and fixing the objective point.

Among the defending and counteracting forces whereby American patriots can resist Rome is the system of popular education in the common school, so fiercely assaulted by pope, archbishop, bishop and priest, and the time has come to make the issue and to demand and insist upon legal enactments, whereby attendance at the same shall be made compulsory if not absolutely exclusive. Every American child should have an American education in the mutual interest of the child and the commonwealth.

Rome is the only organization, political, civil or religious, which, in its organic capacity, denies to children the right of public popular education—of an education untrammelled by ecclesiasticism. In this is Rome, right or wrong?

The parent or priest who would lay bare the infantile brain, and with scalpel eliminate the noble self-asserting liberty-inspiring organs by anatomical extirpation, would do no more serious injury to the child or the commonwealth than is being done by priest and parent in the superstition-filling, spirit-crushing, bigotry-enthusing, and unpatriotic teaching imparted to pupils in Roman Catholic parochial schools.

American liberty does not assure license to teach political heresy, or error in the interest, or at the instigation of domestic or foreign Churches, be they Mormon or Roman, Methodist or Buddhist, Christian or Heathen.

While parochial schools continue in this country their text books and system of teaching should be subject to inspection, correction, revision and rejection,

and the schools brought fully under the control of Superintendents of Public Instruction.

If therein is taught no doctrines dangerous to the state such inspection and revision would not be objectionable; but if for any reason it should bear so hard upon any teacher or pupil, be he citizen, resident or visiting foreigner, that it became unendurable it would be a relief to know that the right and privilege of emigration has never been and probably never will be denied to such a sufferer in this free country. Still let him avoid Mexico where, though the people are Roman Catholics, they yet have excluded priests from public politics, and from any control of the public schools and where attendance at the same is compulsory. Centuries of priestly dominion and exactions taught Mexican statesmen and patriots many useful political truths. Shall not American statesmen and patriots share in that instruction?

Our constitutions certainly carry, inherently, the right of self-preservation. A glorious sight truly to Americans when Leo XIII., *Satolli*, *y otro Dagos* remodel state constitutions and shape legislation. Let Rome beware of the fate of *Uzza*, who laid profane hands upon "Israel's sacred Ark." Should Rome *model* our constitutions, Jefferson would fail to see in their letter and spirit his patriotic work. Franklin would see his statesmanship destroyed, and Washington would think his generalship, courage, persistence and patriotism, had all been in vain.

Another grave peril to America, as well as to good government everywhere, is the absolution and indulgence false theology of the Church of Rome. It is the positive enemy of the state, having the direct tendency

to corrupt public as well as private morals, and should be crushed out by law as were the corrupt practices of the mormons of Utah.

Suppose some capitalized Protestant Church Assurance Company should follow the spirit of the recent encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. to the English people, and advertise that for a consideration they would assure complete and full indulgence, "once a month," in sin and crime, the specific offence being subject to the will and wish of the assured, regardless of any moral or civil tenet, decree or statutory enactment to the contrary, and thus suspend, annul and abrogate God's divine moral law as well as the statutes of the state; would it be tolerated by Church or state?

All should be treated alike. Rome should have no special license to dishonor God, encourage crime, corrupt public morals, and humbug guilty dupes. Let the good sense and the high moral sentiments of the unromanized American conscience be chrystalized into law to that end, adding thereby statutory enactment, to pure religious teaching and moral suasion, thus defending our America from the immoral and criminal teaching of Rome.

There are ten commandments, recognized as from God by Hebrew and Christian, by Unitarian and Trinitarian, by Romist and Protestant. A man, the pope of Rome, says any one or all of these commandments may be ignored, violated, broken, without consequent guilt or punishment for a consideration to be specified by himself.

An indulgence, a plenary, which, is full and complete, indulgence contemplates a violation of God's law, else no indulgence is needed, and its proffer is

illogical and absurd. A good or sinless act in contemplation requires no indulgence; only bad or sinful acts are associate with indulgence, therefore its proffer, on the part of the first party the pope, premises the commission of sin, on the part of the second party the acceptor of the conditions. Thus the pope assumes to annul God's law for a consideration. Is that pure and true religious teaching? What say the members of the Romish Church? What says Protestantism? What say Americans?

Take a case. An English husband lusts after a maid. Every divine, moral and civil law says that the gratification of his passion would be criminal. While deliberating in fear of law, and held in check by conscience, the husband hears the Pope's offer, to-wit.: Say certain prayers for the unity of the English with the Romish Church and you may have plenary, or full and complete indulgence "once a month." He accepts, says the prayers and consummates his lustful desires. Let all Catholicism answer; is the adulterer exonerated from heinous guilt on the proffer and by the agency of the pope? What say the priests, the bishops, the archbishops and cardinals of Rome, in this dawn of the twentieth century of Christ?

What a base state of personal morals must abide in the very character of Leo XIII., Pope of Rome, to prompt him to thus let loose the murderer, the thief, the blasphemer, the seducer and the libertine to prey upon the commonwealth of Protestant England. If that country is not thereby reduced to the deplorable moral standard of Italy, credit should be given to Protestant education and morals.

It would be humorous, if not so disgustingly

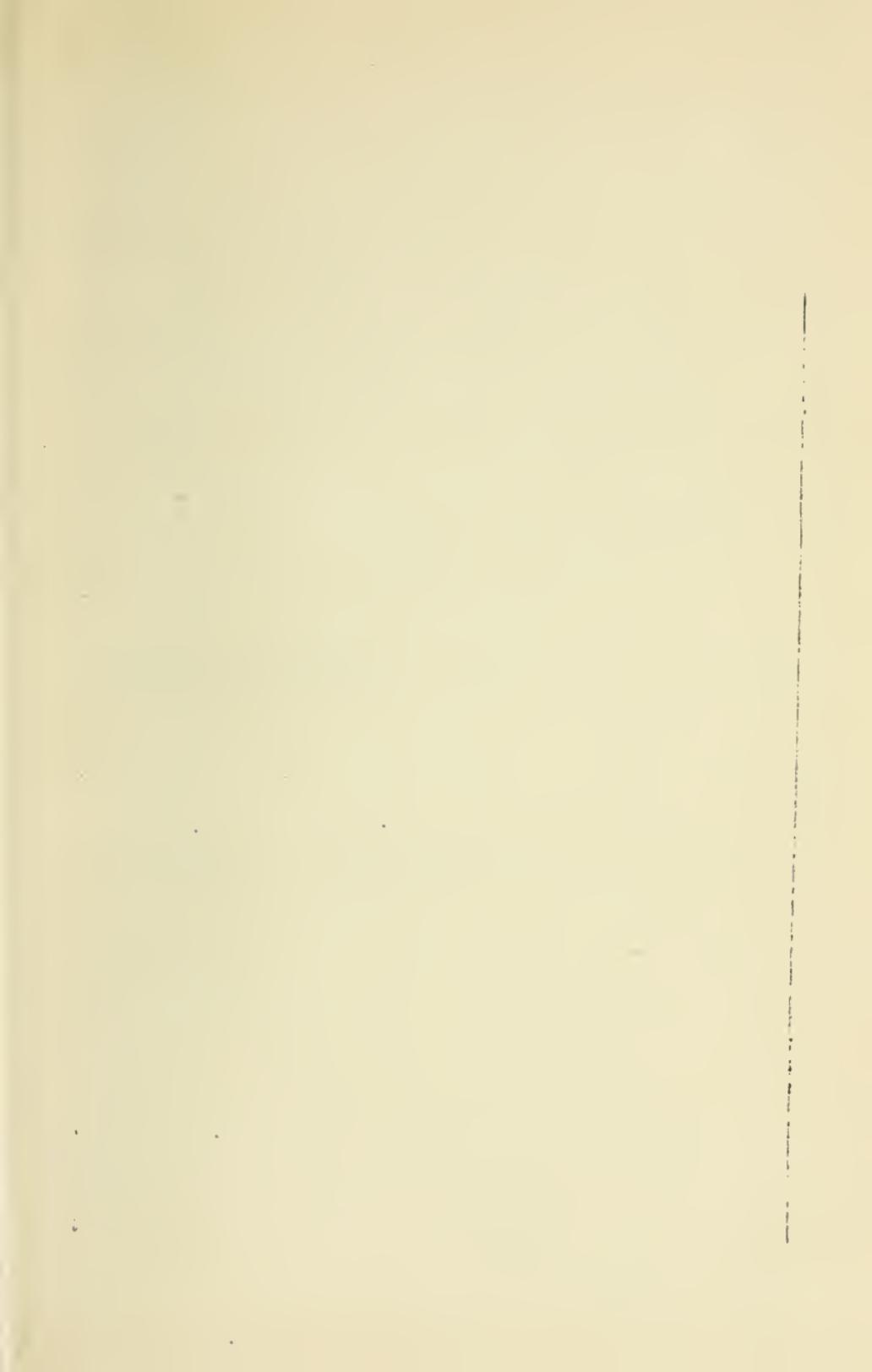
criminal, to see the alleged vice-gerent of God thus offer and barter the right to commit sin and crime as an inducement to people to pray for the increase of his dominion in England. What next from the illogical, blasphemous dago of Rome?

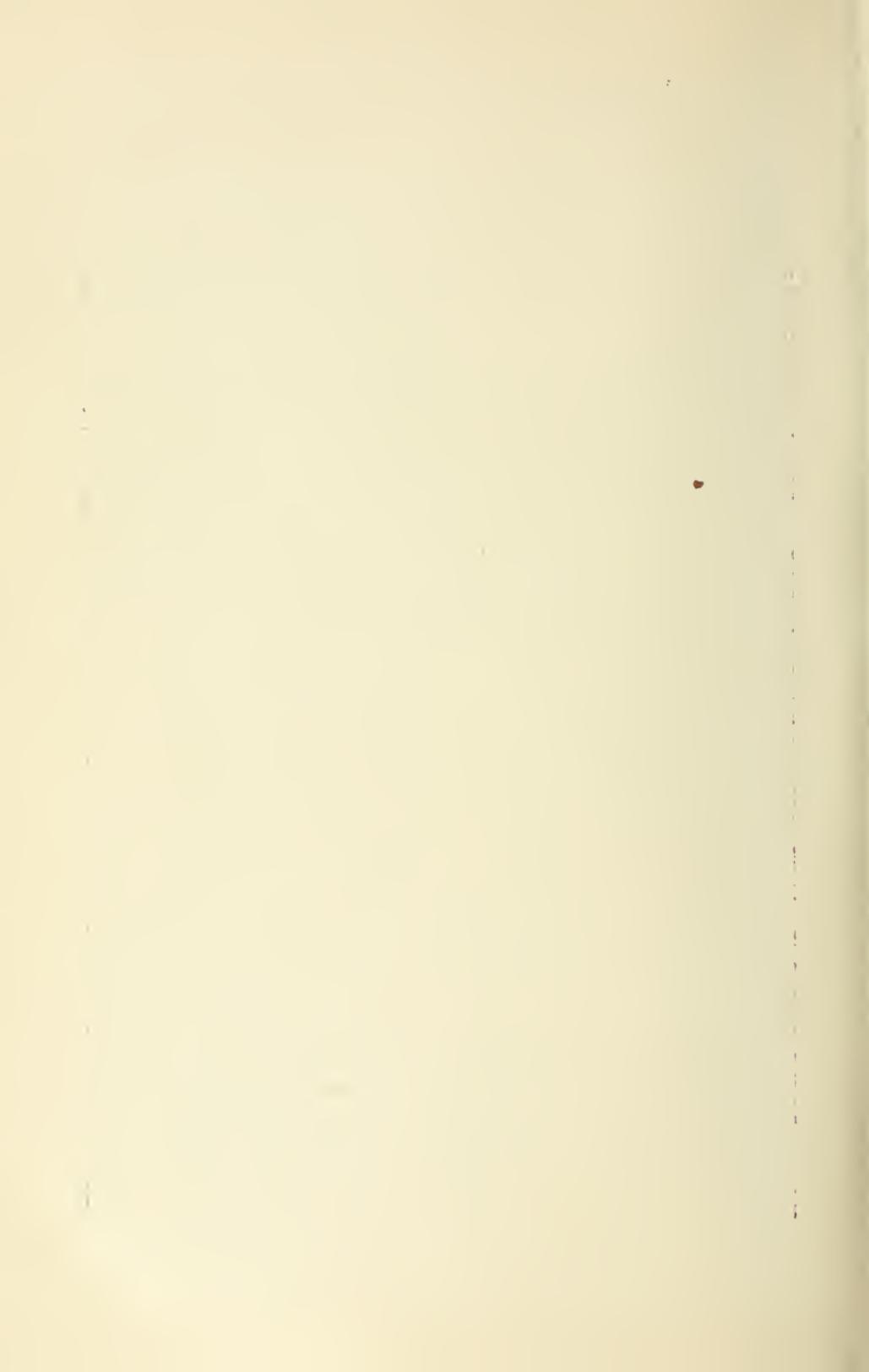
Wisely construing the spirit of the constitution which says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Congress prohibited the claimed right of Mormons to persist in time honored immoral practices, though clothed in the guise of religion. Let the same interposition of constitutional power overthrow mediaeval, dark age, immoral practices of Rome, though in the cloak of religion and promoted by Leo XIII. and his priestly marshals. Mormon's practiced indulgences, Leo peddles the same.

Rome has been losing, losing, losing upon each battlefield in the centuries of her contest with good government, pure morals and education. In Mexico she has fallen under the wheels of the car of progress, and by her own children has been crushed lower than if in contest with Protestantism; for the lessons of extortion and oppression were well learned in the centuries of hard experience. So they were ruthlessly applied when the people's turn came, and the Church was the victim.

The United States is Rome's last hope. Here she expects to recoup for her losses in all the world beside, deeming our liberality to be her opportunity.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."





BOOK II

HISTORY OF TEXAS

AND OF

THE MEXICAN WAR.

History of Texas and Mexican War.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK II.

NO HISTORY of Mexican politics would be complete without the stating of prominent truths relating to the independence of Texas, the annexation of that state to the American Union and the war between Mexico and the United States. The involvement of the slavery question in its various aspects and interests cast such a shade of prejudice over the above named transactions at the time of their occurrence that an impartial history of the facts can scarcely be found and the American mind even to this day is so affected by histories heretofore written touching these matters, that it may be impossible to secure access to public candor in any attempt to remove or correct those prejudices and prepossessions at this time.

Yet, as one who carried a musket as an American volunteer soldier in the war with Mexico, the compiler of facts hereinafter presented feels a sense of duty resting upon him to assert that great injustice is done when the United States and her gallant and conquering army who achieved victory in Mexico in 1846-8 are written down as wrong-doers.

Mexico imposed upon Texas more of the grievances and outrages of misrule than did England upon the American colonies. Texas endured with patience, hoping and petitioning for a return to the methods of the constitution, and with assurances of an unswerving fealty to Mexico, made her appeals for redress.

Regardless of constitution, of right or pledge, the outrages continued, until beyond the bounds of endurance and finally culminated in the sending of an army which invaded Texas, to subdue the people by force. This army acknowledged no principle of action but the base will of Santa Anna, the dictator; and had for its object the slaughter of all who would not surrender all individual and constitutional rights. This left the people no alternative but disgraceful submission or an honorable struggle for independence.

Then the people in an orderly manner proceeded to sever their political relations with the outrageously offending nation, and with a wonderful display of martial power, defeated the Mexican army in one campaign, captured their oppressor, the Mexican president, secured their independence by a treaty mutual in its terms, obligations and benefits, assumed their place among independent nations, and maintained their nationality for nine years without any attempt on the part of Mexico to re-establish its authority over the lost province.

The United States had the right to treat with Texas for political unity, regardless of the wishes or threats of Mexico and without consulting Spain either, which country had not yet assumed national amenities with its successfully rebellious Mexican people.

When annexation was consummated the Mexican government, people and army, took such action that

war was unavoidable and justifiable on the part of the United States. The war was conducted on the highest civilized principles, was brought to a close on the first possible opportunity and on the most equitable terms consistent with the principles of justice and refined civilization, and the results upon progress, human rights and good government have been so manifest that any and all who contributed thereto should be regarded as benefactors of their own country, as well as of "the rest of mankind."



CHAPTER II.—TEXAS.

1684 TO 1836.

DISCOVERY AND OCCUPATION OF TEXAS—CHANGES OWNERS—JOINTLY WITH COAHUILA A MEXICAN STATE—WANTS SEPARATE STATEHOOD—SUFFERS OUTRAGES FROM SANTA ANNA, MEXICAN DICTATOR—DEFENDS AND DEFEATS—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—CAPTURES THE ALAMO—BATTLES AND OUTRAGES—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

TEXAS, containing nearly three hundred thousand square miles of territory and extending seven hundred and forty miles north and south and eight hundred and twenty-five miles east and west, greatest distances considered, and reaching from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, was the home and the hunting grounds of unknown Indian tribes when Cortez with his few hundreds of Spaniards conquered the Aztecs.

In 1684 the French explorer, La Salle, descended the Mississippi river, and at its mouth took possession in the name of Louis XIV., king of France, of the entire region. Hence the name Louisiana, as applied to that then unbounded domain. In 1687 a French settlement was founded at Matagorda bay, but in 1690 Spaniards in superior numbers drove out the French and established colonies in the country, which they named New Phillipines, but the Comanche and Apache

Indians harassed the settlers and greatly retarded their success.

In 1762 Louisiana was ceded to Spain by the French, but in 1802 it was returned to Napoleon Bonaparte, then first consul of France; and in 1803 he, without taking formal possession, sold it to the United States. While the boundaries were not specifically mentioned, it was considered that the Louisiana purchase embraced Texas. So settlements were immediately begun in the new territory, and within fifteen years there were nearly 10,000 Americans settled there, and efforts were made to hold the country against Spain, which claimed that the land transferred to France in 1802 did not include Texas. In the contests which ensued more than 2,500 Americans and Hispano Mexicans were killed. The revolution of 1810 gave opportunity for lawlessness and hostilities which was fully improved.

But in the year 1819 these residents of Texas were greatly surprised to learn that the United States, when purchasing Florida from Spain, had surrendered Texas to that country in the treaty. They made a vigorous protest to the government at Washington, wherein they stated that they had supposed themselves to be safe under the protection of the government of the United States, and now they found themselves suddenly "abandoned to the dominion of the crown of Spain and left a prey to all those exactions which Spanish rapacity is fertile in devising by a treaty, to which they were not a party." Their protest of course was fruitless of results. The Spanish authorities in Mexico, however, manifested a disposition to welcome their newly acquired citizens and enacted such laws, having the object to

encourage immigration, that the American-born population of the province of Texas soon became reconciled, numerous and prosperous.

The leading pioneer in Texas colonization was Moses Austin, a native of Connecticut, who in 1821 obtained leave from the government to plant a colony. He died soon after, and in obedience to his request his son, Stephen Austin, proceeded to the country, selected a site for a colony between the Brazos and the Colorado, and before the close of the year the hum of industry broke the silence of the wilderness.

As the grant had been made by the Spanish authorities of Mexico, it became necessary on the change of government to have the grant confirmed. Austin went to the City of Mexico for that purpose. The confirmation was obtained first from Iturbide and afterwards from the federal government. The absence of Austin caused the partial abandonment of the colony, but his return again started the work, and in twelve years the settlement contained 10,000 people.

In May, 1824, Texas became provisionally annexed to Coahuila until its population and prosperity should entitle it to a separate state organization, and in August the two provinces united and became one of the states of the Mexican republic.

On the 24th of March, 1825, the state colonization law was passed, under which grants were made to *empresarios* or contractors, the greater number of whom were from the United States. The object of the law was to secure immigrants. The terms were favorable and the encouragement great. So under the extraordinary efforts thus made by the Mexican government, many new colonies were formed, chiefly by former citi-

zens of the United States. By one of the terms of the contracts, all newcomers were to possess a certificate of membership in the Roman Catholic church, otherwise they could not acquire title to their lands; schools and churches of that faith were also provided for.

Peace and prosperity prevailed with the exception of some Indian troubles up to 1826, when some disappointed applicants for land inaugurated a movement to throw off the Mexican yoke and establish a republic by the name of Fredonia. Austin and a large number of *bona fide* settlers assisted in the suppression of this outbreak. The movement, however, had a marked effect upon the feelings and policy of the Mexican government towards American immigration. Troops were sent into the country under various pretexts, until in 1832 they numbered 1,300.

Other causes conspired to increase the jealousy of Mexico and alarm her for the eventual security of Texas. In 1827 the minister from the United States was directed to offer Mexico \$1,000,000, and two years after "to go as high as \$5,000,000" for a boundary between the high-lands of the Nueces and the Rio Grande, stating that there was "a deep conviction of the real necessity of the proposed acquisition which would guard the western frontier, protect New Orleans and secure undisputed possession of the Mississippi river." Instead of receiving these propositions with favor, Mexico had an increase of jealousy which was shown by a law published in 1830, evidently directed against Texas, and which suspended many contracts already made, and prohibited the entrance of people from the United States unless furnished with a Mexican passport. This rigorous and unforeseen enactment subjected many immigrants

to great injury and loss. Many who had already settled were denied titles to land, and others who had abandoned their homes in the United States were ordered on their arrival to leave the country, this being the first intimation which they received of the existence of the law. At the same time the garrisons in Texas were increased and civil authority began to be superseded by martial law.

The commandants of the garrisons illegally took into their own hands the enforcement of the anti-immigration laws of 1830, committed violent and arbitrary acts in contravention of state law and authority, and infringed upon the personal liberties of the people.

In 1831 a state commissioner was arrested while he, in pursuance of his official duty, was putting settlers in possession of their lands. Peaceful and respectable citizens were arrested simply because they had rendered themselves obnoxious to military officers, one of whom was the gallant and patriotic Travis, who afterwards defended the Alamo and became a martyr to Texan independence. Incensed by these lawless acts, the colonists assembled to the number of 150 men, and led by John Austin, respectfully applied for the release of the prisoners. A refusal was given and the prisoners were subjected to the outrage of being pinioned to the ground. An attack was then made upon the garrison. After a battle and a parley the Texans had success and secured the release of the prisoners and the surrender of the troops and fort. In the entire affair eleven Texans were killed and fifty-two wounded, twelve of them mortally. Of the 125 Mexicans who composed the garrison, about one-half were killed and seventeen lost their hands by the skillful use of rifles in the hands

of Texans, who shot at the hands of the cannoners as they attempted to fire the artillery. Thus on the 26th of June, 1832, took place the first collision of settlers and Mexican soldiers.

During these events the revolution in Mexico was in progress, which resulted in the overthrow of Bustamante and the restoration of the federal constitution which had been subverted by him. Santa Anna acquired his first influence in national affairs, restored Pedraza and was himself elected to the presidency in 1833. He assumed absolute power and dictated the policies of Mexico regarding Texas until the independence of the latter was secured.

In April, 1833, representatives of the people of Texas met at San Felipe de Austin—now Austin, the capital of Texas, and petitioned the Mexican government for the erection of Texas into a state, giving good and sufficient reasons for their action and petition. They represented the fact that Texas possessed the necessary elements for a state government, which she asked might be given her in accordance with the guarantees of the act of May 7, 1824. For her attachment to the federal constitution and to the republic the petitioners pledged their lives and honor.

Stephen F. Austin took this memorial to Mexico, where he arrived soon after the accession of Santa Anna to the presidency. He was misunderstood, delayed and refused. He wrote to the municipality of Bexar, recommending that the people of Texas should immediately organize a state government as the only course that could save them from anarchy and destruction. After being unfavorably commented on by Texans, the letter was sent to the Mexican government. Orders

were issued for the arrest of Austin, which were executed at Saltillo, 600 miles from the capital, where he was found en route to his home. He was taken to the City of Mexico, imprisoned in a dungeon, and for more than a year was refused the privilege of speaking to or corresponding with any one. It was only at the end of two years and a half, in September, 1835, that he was permitted to return to his home, having witnessed during his captivity the usurpations of Santa Anna and the overthrow of the federal constitution of 1824.

The arbitrary proceedings of Santa Anna and the collision between him and congress had divided public sentiment in Mexico, and Texas experienced the ill effects of the issues. Two parties sprung up among the Americans, one for proclaiming the province an independent state of the Mexican federation at every hazard, the other wishing to obtain a state government by constitutional methods without resorting to revolution. None, however, sustained the arbitrary measures of Santa Anna. When the intelligence of the "Plan of Toluca" reached Texas, together with the favor it received from the usurping authorities of Mexico, it became evident to the people that the federal system of 1824 was to be dissolved by force; that the vested rights of Texas under the constitution were to be disregarded and violated and that the liberties of the people were to have no better guarantee than the capricious will of their most bitter enemies.

Hitherto the great majority of Texans had opposed violent measures; they had repeatedly declared themselves ready to discharge their duties as faithful citizens of Mexico, attached by interest and inclination to the federal contract, and they consoled themselves under

the many evils they had suffered with the hope that they would soon have the benefit of a good local government by the acknowledgment of Texas as an independent member of the Mexican Union, nor was it until the course of events demonstrated the fallacy of this hope that they yielded to despondency or planned for resistance.

When Stephen Austin returned to Texas from his imprisonment in Mexico, on his advice committees of safety were organized and the people resolved to insist on their rights under the constitution of 1824. In the meantime Santa Anna was concentrating troops for the invasion of Texas, and the old barracks at Matamoras, Goliad and San Antonio de Bexar were being prepared to receive large re-enforcements. The constitutional governor of Coahuila and Texas was deposed by the military and a new one appointed by Santa Anna, and the commandant at Bexar was ordered to march into Texas and capture offensive persons, to disarm citizens and to provide for a complete military control of the country.

Satisfied that the moment for decisive action had arrived, the central committee of safety called the people to arms to defend themselves, their rights, their homes and their country.

On the 3d of November a general convention of delegates assembled at San Felipe, Austin, and on the 7th adopted a declaration of rights setting forth the reasons which had impelled Texas to take up arms and the objects for which she contended. After setting forth, as causes of the present hostile position of Texas, the overthrow of the federal institutions of Mexico and the dissolution of the social compact which had existed

between Texas and the other members of the confederacy, the declaration asserted that the people "had taken up arms in defense of their rights and liberties, which were threatened by the encroachments of military despots and in the defense of the republican principles of the federal constitution of Mexico." Moreover, the compact of union entered into by Texas and Coahuila with Mexico was declared to have been broken by the latter, and to be no longer binding on Texas; yet the people pledged themselves to continue faithful to the Mexican government so long as that nation should adhere to the constitution and laws under whose guarantees Texas had been settled and had become a member of the Mexican republic.

The convention also proceeded to the formation and adoption of a plan for a provisional government of Texas, and chose Henry Smith governor, with ample executive power, and Samuel Houston commander-in-chief of the army. General Austin was appointed commissioner to the United States.

When Santa Anna with his army had suppressed the constitutional party in Zacatecas in May, 1835, and found himself without armed opposition, except in Texas, he concentrated his forces for the conquest of that part of his dominions. But the Texans met force with force, and defeated a detachment of the Mexican army on the 28th of September, near the town of Gonzales, and on the 8th of October they captured Goliad with its garrison. Emboldened by these successes they concentrated their forces and laid siege to San Antonio de Bexar, where the Mexicans had a force in the city as well as in the famous Alamo, the whole numbering 1300, while the Texans could muster only 500 men.

At daylight on the morning of the 11th of December, the black and red flag which had been waving from the Alamo during the siege, in token of no quarter, was withdrawn, and a flag of truce was sent to the Texans, indicating a desire to capitulate. Soon terms were agreed upon. General Cos and his officers were allowed to retire to Mexico on their paroles of honor, they would not in any way oppose the re-establishment of the federal constitution of 1824, and the troops were allowed to go or stay at will. On the 15th General Cos with his humiliated followers commenced the march to the interior, and in a few days not a Mexican soldier was to be seen from the Sabine to the Rio Grande.

This defeat exasperated Santa Anna and he concentrated a force of 8,000 men, with a large artillery train on the Rio Grande, personally took the command and directing General Urrea with a division to sweep the country from Matamoras along the coast in the direction of Goliad, he marched with the main force upon Bexar. The Texans divided their forces, leaving only 150 men, under command of Colonel Travis, to defend the Alamo, while others, to the number of about 500, were with Colonel Fannin at Goliad. Santa Anna laid siege to the Alamo on February 23d.

Colonel Travis with his little band defended against more than 4,000 Mexicans. He wrote to the Texan commander for re-enforcements, declaring his intention to defend to the utmost. He said, "I will never surrender nor retreat. I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible, and die like a soldier who never forgets what is due to his own honor and that of his country."

Soon after midnight, on the 6th of March, the en-

tire army, commanded by Santa Anna in person, surrounded the Alamo for the purpose of taking it by storm at any cost; and amidst the discharge of musketry and artillery the advance was made towards the fort. Twice repulsed in their attempts to scale the walls, they were again impelled to the assault by the exertions of their officers; and borne onward by the pressure from the rear they mounted the walls and, in the expressive language of an eye witness, they "tumbled over like sheep." Then commenced the last struggle. Travis received a shot as he stood on the wall cheering on his men; and as he fell a Mexican officer rushed forward to despatch him. Summoning up his powers for a final effort, Travis met his assailant with a thrust of his sword and both expired together.

The brave defenders of the fort, overborne by multitudes and unable in the throng to load their fire arms, continued the combat with the butt ends of their rifles until only seven were left, and these were refused quarter. Of all the persons in the place only two were spared, a Mrs. Dickerson and a negro servant of the commandant's. Colonel James Bowie was murdered in his sick-bed, and the eccentric David Crockett of Tennessee lay dead, surrounded by victims of his personal prowess.

The bodies of the dead were stripped, thrown into a heap and burned, after being subjected to brutal indignities. Santa Anna and his brother-in-law, General Cos, each thrust their swords and daggers into the bodies of officers. Travis especially had his face and limbs mutilated. No authenticated account of the Mexican loss has been obtained, but it has been variously estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500.

While these events were taking place at Bexar, a general convention of delegates had assembled at Washington, on the Brazos, in obedience to a call of the provisional government, for the purpose of considering the question whether Texas should continue to struggle for the re-establishment of the Mexican federal constitution of 1824, or make a Declaration of Independence and form a republican government. On the 2d of March, 1836, the convention agreed unanimously to a Declaration of Independence, in which the provocations which led to it were recited, and the necessity and justice of the measure ably vindicated. "The Mexican government," the Declaration asserted, "by its colonization laws, invited and induced the Anglo-American population of Texas to colonize its wilderness, under the pledged faith of a written constitution, that they should continue to enjoy that constitutional liberty and republican government to which they had been habituated in the land of their birth, the United States of America.

'In this expectation they have been cruelly disappointed, inasmuch as the Mexican people have acquiesced in the late changes in the government made by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who, having overturned the constitution of his country, now offers to us the cruel alternatives, either to abandon our homes, acquired by so many privations, or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny, the combined despotism of the sword and the priesthood.'

After a recapitulation of the numerous grievances endured from Mexican mal-administration and faithlessness, the Declaration thus continues: "These and other grievances were patiently borne by the people of Texas, until they reached that point at which forbearance

ceased to be a virtue. We then took up arms in defense of the national constitution. We appealed to our Mexican brethren for assistance; our appeal has been made in vain. Though months have elapsed, no sympathetic response has yet been heard from the interior. We are consequently forced to the melancholy conclusion that the Mexican people have acquiesced in the destruction of their liberty, and the substitution, therefor, of a military government. The necessity of self-preservation now decrees our eternal political separation. We, therefore, the delegates of Texas, with plenary powers, in solemn convention assembled, appealing to a candid world for the necessities of our condition, do hereby resolve and DECLARE, that our political connection with the Mexican nation has forever ended; and that the people of Texas do now constitute a FREE SOVEREIGN, and INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC, and are fully invested with all the rights and attributes which properly belong to independent states; and conscious of the rectitude of our intentions, we fearlessly and confidently commit the issue to the decision of the Supreme Arbiter of the destinies of nations.

CHAPTER III.

1836 TO 1845.

CONSTITUTION ADOPTED — STATE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZED — INAUGURAL ADDRESS — MEXICAN TROOPS SWEEP THE STATE—SANTA ANNA PREPARES TO RETURN TO MEXICO—BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO—SANTA ANNA DEFEATED AND CAPTURED — TREATY — INDEPENDENCE OF TEXAS — SANTA ANNA VISITS PRESIDENT JACKSON — SENT TO MEXICO — PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE — RECOGNIZED BY THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE AND ENGLAND—ANNEXED TO THE UNITED STATES.

FIFTY delegates subscribed the Declaration, and on the 17th of March, 1836, a constitution for the Republic of Texas was adopted, and executive officers were appointed to perform the duties of the government until the first election under the constitution. David G. Burnett, the son of an officer of the American Revolution, was appointed provisional president.

In his inaugural address he reminded the delegates of their duties and of the glorious enterprise in which they were engaged, referred to the inheritance of gallantry descending to them from 1776; and exhorted them to unite as brothers with a single eye to the one common object, *the redemption of Texas*. He said, "We are about as we trust to establish a name among the nations of the earth; let us be watchful, that this name

shall not inflict a mortification upon the illustrious people from whom we have sprung nor entail reproach upon our decendants. We are acting for posterity; and while, with a devout reliance on the God of battles, we shall roll back the flood that threatens to deluge our borders, let us present to the world such evidences of our moral and political rectitude as will compel the respect, if not constrain the sympathies of other and older nations. The day and the hour has arrived when every free-man must be up and doing his duty. The Alamo has fallen; the gallant few who so long sustained it have yielded to the overwhelming power of numbers; and, if our intelligence be correct, they have perished in one indiscriminate slaughter; but they perished not in vain! The ferocious tyrant has purchased his triumph over one little band of heroes at a costly price; and a few such victories would bring down speedy ruin upon himself. Let us, therefore, fellow citizens, take courage from this glorious disaster; and while the smoke from the funeral piles of our bleeding and burning brothers ascends to heaven, let us implore the aid of an incensed God, who abhors iniquity, who ruleth in righteousness and will avenge the oppressed."

While Santa Anna was operating against San Antonio de Bexar, Urrea in obedience to orders moved along the coast, meeting with but little resistance from parties sent out for the assistance of families removing to places of safety. In all encounters he was successful and captured many small parties, all of whom he invariably put to death. Colonel Fannin, having depleted his force by sending out detachments, finding that Urrea was moving upon Goliad with greatly superior numbers, attempted a retreat, was surrounded and compelled

to surrender. He was taken back to Goliad, where were finally assembled about 400 prisoners. These were all cruelly put to death with the exception of a fortunate few, who escaped. These butcheries were made under orders of Santa Anna in accordance, as he afterwards declared, with a law of the supreme government. Inasmuch as he was at that time substantially the government, he was therefore not exculpated; and the massacre of Fannin and his companions in arms stamps with infamy the government of Mexico and all officers concerned in the act.

From the hour that the fate of Travis and Fannin and their brave comrades became known, a spirit was awakened among the hardy population of the west which would never have slumbered while a Mexican soldier remained east of the Rio Grande. It was this which led to a rapid influx of Americans into Texas; and though they were not required to secure her independence, they aided in strengthening the military resources of the nation, and thus discouraged the Mexicans from making any further systematic attempts to subdue the country. The barbarities of the Mexicans also excited sympathy throughout the United States, and thus largely prepared the way for the entrance of Texas into the American Union.

But Santa Anna entertained no sentiments of sympathy for the sufferings or wrongs inflicted upon the Texans. On the contrary, he was highly elated with the success which had followed his campaigns; and, under the impression that the people would make no further resistance, he began to apportion his forces to different quarters for taking complete military possession of Texas. One division was sent to San Felipe de

Austin, another to Goliad, and a third to the post of Nacogdoches near the American frontier.

Believing that his presence in the country was not necessary, he made preparations to turn the command over to General Filsola and start on the 1st of April for the City of Mexico. He, however, abandoned for a time his own departure and the movement of his forces, that he might pursue and dispose of the last remaining Texan army, which, under the command of General Houston, was concentrating near the head of Galveston Bay.

In due time he drew near to this last force of the enemy, and after some skirmishing the two armies confronted each other on the banks of the San Jacinto, on the 20th of April, and encamped for the night. About 9 o'clock on the morning of the 21st, General Cos re-enforced Santa Anna, bringing his numbers up to nearly 1600 men, while Houston had 783. At 3:30 o'clock Houston ordered a parade of his forces, having previously destroyed the bridges on the only road to the Brazos, thus cutting off escape for the Mexicans should they be defeated. The troops paraded with alacrity and spirit. The disparity in numbers increased their enthusiasm and heightened their anxiety for the conflict. The order of battle being formed, the calvary, sixty-one in number, commanded by Colonel Mirabeau B. Lamar, moved to the front of the enemy's left, for the purpose of attracting their attention, while the main body advanced rapidly in line, the artillery consisting of two six pounders, taking station within 200 yards of the enemy's breastwork. With the exception of the cannon, which vigorously discharged grape and canister, not a gun was fired by the Texans until they were within close range

of the enemy's lines, when the war cry, "*Remember the Alamo!*" was raised. The inspiration of that cry, the memory of the death of their comrades, and the fact that the murderers were now before them, increased their zeal and courage to a frenzy. They rushed in one desperate charge upon the enemy's works, and after a conflict of twenty minutes gained entire possession of the encampment with the artillery, colors, camp equipage, stores and baggage. Such was the suddenness, desperation and violence of the onset that the Mexicans were panic-stricken, and in dismay threw down their arms and fled in confusion. The Texan cavalry fell upon the fugitives and cut them down by platoons. Never was a route more total or a victory more complete. The whole Mexican army was annihilated. Scarcely a single soldier escaped. Of nearly 1600 men who commenced the action, 630 were killed, 208 wounded, and 730 captured; while of the Texans only eight were killed, and seventeen wounded. On the next day Santa Anna, disguised as a common soldier, was made prisoner while hiding in the timber. Not knowing his name, his captors at his request conveyed him to General Houston, who had been wounded in the ankle, and was slumbering on a blanket at the foot of a tree, with his saddle for a pillow. Santa Anna approached, pressed his hand (giving, it is said, the grip of a world-wide secret order) and announced himself as president of the Mexican republic and commander-in-chief of the army. By Houston's desire he seated himself on a medicine chest, but was greatly agitated. Some opium having been given him at his request, he swallowed it and appeared more composed. He then said to Houston, "You were born to no

ordinary destiny; you have conquered the Napoleon of the West.”

As far as his having in custody the president and absolute dictator of Mexico was concerned, he spoke the truth. Santa Anna in his person was the embodiment of the Mexican national government, and his will was law. He deposed governors and installed rulers, he subverted the constitution and substituted his own decrees, and none dared to deny his authority or dictation, but Mexican historians call him Napoleon the Little. Now he was in the hands of the survivors of the Texan army, a part of which he had murdered without restraint of conscience or law, and the question which agitated his mind was, what was to be his fate. The same question was raised among the Texan soldiers, and the unanimous verdict was, “Let him be put to death as a barbarous monster who has forfeited a thousand lives.” Only one man stood up against the execution of the sentence so universally pronounced, and that was General Houston, who, while he approved the justice of the sentence, nevertheless had in view motives of policy and a wish to serve the state. It was only by the exercise of extraordinary firmness on his part that the life of the prisoner was spared.

After due deliberation the general agreed upon an armistice with his prisoner, whereby all Mexican troops in Texas were to retire. The leniency shown Santa Anna came near disrupting the Texan army, and a stop was put to the plan of sending the captive president back to Mexico, in accordance with the terms of the armistice.

In the meantime President Burnett arrived at the camp, and a convention was held between those two

presidents, one representing Mexico and the other Texas. On the 14th of May, 1836, it was stipulated that hostilities were immediately to cease between Mexican and Texan troops. The Mexican army was to retire beyond the Rio Grande; prisoners were to be exchanged; and Santa Anna was to be sent to Vera Cruz as soon as should be thought proper. On the same day a treaty was signed by the two presidents, stipulating that the Mexican cabinet should receive a mission from Texas; that a treaty of amity and commerce should be established between the two republics; that the Texan territory should not extend beyond the Rio Grande; and that the immediate embarkation of Santa Anna for Vera Cruz should be provided for; "his prompt return being indispensable for the purpose of effecting his engagements." The release of Santa Anna was, however, still opposed and hindered by the army, and it was not until December that General Houston, then become president, sent him out of the country by way of the United States.

Santa Anna had previously written to President Jackson expressing his willingness to fulfill his stipulations with the Texan authorities, and requesting his mediation. On the 16th of December Santa Anna reached Washington, where he held secret conferences with the executive, and on the 26th of the same month left the city, being furnished by President Jackson with a ship of war to convey him to Vera Cruz, where he arrived on the 20th of February following, just ten months after his capture. He, true to his perfidious nature, immediately addressed a letter to the minister of war, wherein he disavowed all treaties and stipulations whatever, as conditional to his release, and declared that rather than have made any he would have suffered a

thousand deaths. The Mexican congress had on the 20th of May by a decree suspended the presidential authority of Santa Anna while he was a prisoner, and had given information of the same to the government of the United States.

The battle of San Jacinto gave peace to Texas, and the rank of an independent state among the nations of the earth. On the 3d of March, 1837, her independence was recognized by the United States. This was followed by recognition and treaties on the part of France in 1839, and on the part of England in 1840. Mexico, however, still maintained a hostile attitude towards her; and by repeated threats of invasion kept alive the martial spirit of the Texans, but no serious attempt was ever made to restore Mexican authority in that state.

All attempts on the part of Texas to establish treaty relations with Mexico were fruitless until 1840, when the latter so far abated her opposition as to receive a Texan agent, and permit him to submit the basis of a treaty; but on the restoration of Santa Anna to power, in 1841, Mexico again assumed a war-like attitude, declaring to the world that she would not vary her position "till she planted her eagle standard on the banks of the Sabine."

From the independence of Texas to the time when she became a state in the American Union, as many invasions of Mexico by Texan troops were attempted as were made or projected by the Mexicans into the territory of the Lone Star state, but in each case they were fruitless of national results.

When Texas, soon after the battle of San Jacinto, asked the United States to recognize her independence, it was with the avowed design of treating immediately

for the transfer of her territory to the American Union. The opinions of President Jackson as expressed by message to congress were, that it would be unwise, as it might, however unjustly, subject the United States to the imputation of seeking to establish the claim of her neighbor to a territory with a view to its subsequent acquisition by herself. He therefore advised that no steps be taken until the lapse of time, or the course of events should have proved beyond cavil, or dispute the ability of the Texan people to maintain their separate sovereignty, and the government constituted by them.

During the presidency of Mr. Van Buren in 1837, another and more formal proposition was made by the Texan envoy at Washington to secure annexation. But the president earnestly and successfully resisted any favorable action thereon. There was serious antagonistic action taken in several of the states against annexation, and the people of Texas were not by any means a unit in its favor. But in the presidential election held in the United States in 1844, the question of the annexation of Texas was in issue, and the matter was favorably determined by the election of Mr. Polk, who had earnestly approved the measure. The congresses of both nations having taken proper steps to that end, the act of union took place, and in 1845 Texas became a state in the American Union.

As Texas was actually independent, that independence carried with it all the rights and privileges of sovereignty, and she was as capable of disposing of herself by treaty as the most independent nation is of transferring to another power any part of its territory.

That the United States, in its sovereign capacity, had an undoubted right to enter into the treaty of

annexation, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mexico, and that as between the United States and Mexico all this furnished no just ground of complaint on the part of the latter is clearly set forth in Marten's "Law of Nations," pp. 23-4: "All that is required for a state or nation to be entirely free and sovereign is that it must govern itself and acknowledge no legislative superior but God. If it be totally independent, it is sovereign;" and p. 79: "A foreign nation does not appear to violate its perfect obligations, nor to deviate from the principles of neutrality, if it treats as an independent nation people who have declared and still maintain themselves independent."

History abounds with examples in which revolted provinces have been acknowledged and treated as sovereign states by other nations, long before they were recognized as such by the states from which they revolted. Mexico herself, which was recognized as independent by the United States in 1821, stood in the view of Spain as a revolted province up to 1836, the year of Texan independence, when the fact of her separate existence as a nation was finally assented to by the Spanish government. Notwithstanding these legal maxims and facts Mexico by her minister at Washington, said, "The Mexican government is resolved to declare war as soon as it receives intimation of such an act"—annexation of Texas. The annexation being consummated, it became the right and duty of the United States to provide for the defense of her new frontier, and especially as she was informed that Mexico would make war upon her. The cause of the war was the annexation of Texas and not the entrance of General Taylor

upon the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande as urged by some historians.

That the Rio Grande was the true boundary of the newly acquired state is sustained by the facts, that it was so set forth in the Texan Declaration of Independence; that it was sustained by the success of the revolution; that it was so confirmed by the treaty with Santa Anna, which TREATY was *ratified* and signed by Filsola, then in command of the Northern Mexican army, and that Filsola was authorized by letter from the Mexican president *ad interim* to do whatever should be necessary to procure the release of Santa Anna and to save his troops and munitions of war. The obligations and benefits of that treaty were mutual, Texas acquiring the independence of all the territory east of the Rio Grande, and Mexico saving the army and the life of her president.

That Bustamente who succeeded Santa Anna as president repudiated the treaty, cuts no more figure than would similar action on the part of President Diaz to-day. The threats of Mexico to declare war, the hostile spirit manifested by her population and the actual assembling of troops with the title "army of the North" and "army of invasion" on her northern frontiers, with the avowed object of reconquering the whole of Texas, devolved the duty upon the United States to prepare for the threatened war on international principles as set forth by the above quoted author, page 273: "If a sovereign sees himself menaced with an attack, he may take up arms to ward off the blow, and may even commence the exercise of those violences that his enemy is preparing to exercise against him without being chargeable with having begun an offen-

sive war;" and page 369: "The justificative reasons of a war show that an injury has been received, or so far *threatened* as to authorize a prevention of it by arms."

It has been charged that the Anglo-American settlers of Texas emigrated to that country with the fraudulent design of eventually wresting it from Mexico and annexing it to the American Union; and also that the United States countenanced the scheme and permitted armed bands from the states to join the Texan armies.

Whatever of individual wish and intention may have existed as to a final transfer of the territory of Texas to the United States by revolution or otherwise, certainly no concerted action was had until, in violation of both constitutional and statute law, and of personal rights on the part of the Mexican government against the settlers, a necessity was laid upon the inhabitants of Texas to resort to the last right to which oppressed people are by nature entitled—revolution; and when the issues were made up, the case as presented to the world made it a virtue for nations possessed of common humanity to act upon international law as presented in Vattel's "Law of Nations," page 218: "When a people from good reasons take up arms against an oppressor, justice and generosity require that brave men should be assisted in the defense of their liberties. When, therefore, a civil war is kindled in a state, foreign powers may assist that party which appears to them to have justice on its side." Also Marten's "Law of Nations," page 80: "Any sovereign prince has a right to lend assistance to the party whom he believes to have justice on his side."

There are no facts, however, to prove that the American *government* as such countenanced the revolution, although it may be admitted with philanthropic pride that thousands of American citizens warmly sympathized with the revolutionists, and as individuals gave them much aid and comfort. They aided Texas as they had before aided Mexico in her just revolution. But the *government* sent an armed force to the Texan frontier to enforce neutrality.

During her time of independent national existence the office of chief magistrate of Texas was held as follows: David Burnett appointed provisional president in 1836. Sam Houston president from 1836 to 1838. Mirabeau B. Lamar from 1838 to 1840. David Burnett from 1840 to 1842. Sam Houston from 1842 to 1844. Anson Jones from 1844 to date of annexation to the United States.



CHAPTER IV.

MEXICAN WAR.—1845 TO 1847.

MEXICO INAUGURATES WAR—GENERAL TAYLOR COMMANDS THE AMERICAN ARMY—MARCHES TO THE RIO GRANDE—HOSTILITIES—BATTLES OF PALO ALTO AND RESACA DE LA PALMA—CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS—MONTEREY SURRENDERS—SANTA FE CAPTURED—CALIFORNIA OCCUPIED—CHIHUAHUA CAPTURED—GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT AND PLAN OF CAMPAIGN—VICTORY AT BUENA VISTA.

IN ACCORDANCE with the warlike policy of Mexico, Mr. Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, immediately after the resolution of annexation had passed the American congress, protested against the measure which he declared Mexico would regard as an act of warlike aggression to be resisted by all means within her power, demanded his passports and returned home.

On the 4th of July, 1845, Texas assented to the terms of the resolution of annexation; and expecting that Mexico would carry her threats of war into execution, requested the president of the United States to occupy the ports of Texas and send an army to the defense of her territory. Accordingly, an American squadron was sent to the gulf of Mexico, and General Taylor then in command at Camp Jessup, in the western part of Louisiana, was ordered to the southern part of

Texas. By the advice of the Texan authorities he located at Corpus Christi, where by the beginning of August he had an army of about 4,000 men.

On the 13th of January, 1846, when it was believed that the Mexicans were assembling troops on their northern frontiers with the avowed object of re-conquering Texas, and when such information had been received from Mexico as rendered it probable, if not certain, that she would refuse to receive Mr. Slidell, the envoy, whom the United States had sent to negotiate a settlement of the difficulties between the two countries, General Taylor was ordered to advance his forces to the Rio Grande, the southern and the western boundary of Texas.

Aside from the acts specified there already existed serious causes for complaints, and in his message to congress in 1837, President Jackson declared that they would justify, in the eyes of all nations, immediate war.

Ever since Mexico had been a republic she had proved to be a despoiling and unjust neighbor. Civil wars had impoverished her treasury and her authorities had replenished it by confiscating the property of Americans upon land and in the gulf of Mexico.

After continued remonstrance for years a treaty was entered into in 1831, adjustment for damages agreed upon and promises made for payment. Notwithstanding this aggression continued, and in 1840 the aggregate amount of American property which had been unlawfully seized by Mexicans, was more than six millions of dollars.

Eighteen changes had taken place in Mexico in the office of chief magistrate, impoverishment and dishonesty had delayed payment and administrations were

unwilling to assume obligations of their overthrown predecessors, and so the claims remained unsettled when the annexation of Texas took place and peaceful relations between the United States and Mexico were suspended by act of the Mexican administration.

On the 8th of March the advance column of the army under General Twiggs was put in motion, and on the 28th of the same month General Taylor, after having established a depot at Point Isabel, twenty-one miles in his rear, took his position on the northern bank of the Rio Grande, where he hastily erected a fortress called Fort Brown, within cannon shot of Matamoras.

On the 26th of April the Mexican general, Ampudia, gave notice to General Taylor that he considered hostilities commenced and should prosecute them, and on the same day a company of American dragoons commanded by Captain Thornton, was attacked while making a reconnoissance thirty miles above Fort Brown, on the American side of the Rio Grande, when sixteen were killed and wounded and the remainder were captured. This was the commencement of actual hostilities—the first blood shed in the war, although Colonel Trueman Cross, of the quartermaster department, had been murdered a few days before by a party of Mexican guerillas.

The movements of the enemy, who had crossed the river above Matamoras, seeming to be directed toward an attack on Point Isabel to cut off the Americans from their base of supplies, caused General Taylor to move to that place on the 1st of May with his principal force, leaving a small command to defend Fort Brown. After having garrisoned the depot, on the 7th of May General Taylor set out on his return. At noon the next day the

Mexican army, numbering about 6,000 men, with seven pieces of artillery was discovered near Palo Alto, drawn up in battle array across the prairie through which the advance led. The Americans, only 2,300 in number, advanced to the encounter, and after an action of about five hours, which was sustained mostly by the artillery, drove the enemy from their position and encamped upon the field of battle. The Mexican loss was about 100 killed, that of the Americans but four killed and forty wounded, but among those mortally wounded was the distinguished Major Ringgold of the artillery.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the next day the American army again advanced, and after a march of two hours came up with the enemy, who had taken a strong position in a ravine called the Resaca de la Palma, three miles from Fort Brown. The action was commenced on both sides by the artillery, but the Mexican guns commanded by General La Vega were in a better position for effectiveness than at Palo Alto, and their fire was very severe. An order to dislodge them was gallantly executed by Captain May at the head of a squadron of dragoons which, charging through a storm of grape shot, broke the ranks of the enemy, killed or dispersed the Mexican artillerymen and took General La Vega prisoner. The charge was supported by the infantry, the whole Mexican line was routed and the enemy fled in confusion, abandoning their guns and a quantity of ammunition; and when night closed in over the scene not an armed Mexican was to be found north of the Rio Grande. The next day the army took up its former position at Fort Brown, which had sustained with little loss an almost uninterrupted bombardment of seven days from the Mexican batteries in Mata-

moras; nevertheless, the army mourned the death of Major Brown, its gallant defending commander.

The news of these encounters produced the greatest excitement throughout the Union; it was not doubted that Mexico would receive a severe chastisement and a war spirit, unknown before to exist, heralded in anticipation a series of victories and conquests, terminating only in the "Halls of the Montezumas." The president in a message to congress declared that "Mexico had invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil," and congress adopting the spirit of the message, after declaring that war existed "by act of the republic of Mexico," authorized the president to accept the services of 50,000 volunteers and placed \$10,000,000 at his disposal.

The call for volunteers was responded to by the prompt tender of the services of more than 300,000 men, who seemed to anticipate a march to the Mexican capital in the ranks of a conquering army, but as a pleasant pastime or a holiday excursion.

Most of the summer of 1846 was occupied by the government in preparations for the invasion of Mexico from several directions at the same time. A force of about 23,000 men was sent into the field, the largest part of which, placed under the command of General Taylor, was to advance from Matamoras into the enemy's country in the direction of Monterey. General Wool, at the head of about 3,000 men, concentrated at San Antonio de Bexar, was to march upon Chihuahua, while General Kearney with a force of about 1,700 men was to march from Fort Leavenworth upon Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico.

The difficulty attending the removal of supplies

from New Orleans which was his base, made it impossible for General Taylor to commence operations actively until the latter part of August. But with his accustomed energy he appeared on the 19th of September before Monterey with 6,600 men, having garrisoned his line of communications. Monterey, the capital of



GENERAL TAYLOR.

New Leon, was a city of about 15,000 inhabitants, strong in its natural defenses and garrisoned by about 10,000 troops, regular and irregular, under the command of General Ampudia.

On the morning of the 21st the attack was com-

menced, which was continued with great spirit during the day, with the important results of getting possession of the enemy's line of retreat and the capture of two strong forts in the rear of the city. The assault was continued the next day, when the bishop's palace, a strong position and the only remaining fortified height in the rear of the town, was gallantly carried by the troops under General Worth, who was in command of operations in the rear of the city. On the morning of the 23d the lower part of the city was stormed by General Quitman, the troops slowly advancing by digging through the adobe and stone walls of the houses.

In the same manner General Worth's troops approached the center, and by night the enemy was confined chiefly to the plaza or central square of the city and to the citadel, a strong and scientifically constructed work on the north of the place. Early on the morning of the 24th the Mexican general submitted propositions which resulted in the surrender and evacuation of Monterey and an armistice of eight weeks, or until instructions should be received from either of the respective governments.

In obedience to orders received from Washington, General Taylor on the 11th of November gave notice to the Mexican general that hostilities would be renewed on the 13th instant, and about the middle of the month Saltillo, the capital of the state of Coahuila, was occupied by the division of General Worth. Late in December General Patterson took possession of Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, while about the same time the port of Tampico was captured by Commodore Perry.

In the meantime General Wool, after crossing the Rio Grande, finding his march to Chihuahua in that

direction, impeded by the lofty and unbroken range of the Sierra Madre, had turned south and joined General Worth at Saltillo; while General Kearney, somewhat earlier in the season, after having performed a march of nearly 1,000 miles across the wilderness, had made himself master of Santa Fe and all of New Mexico without opposition. After General Kearney had established a new government in New Mexico, on the 25th of September he departed from Santa Fe, at the head of 400 dragoons, for the California settlements of Mexico, bordering on the Pacific ocean. But after having proceeded 300 miles and learning that California was already in the hands of the Americans, he sent back all of his force but 100 men and pursued his way across the continent.

In the early part of December a part of General Kearney's command that had marched with him from the east, set out from Santa Fe on a southern expedition, expecting to form a junction with General Wool at Chihuahua. This force, numbering about 900 men, was commanded by General Doniphan, and its march of more than 1,000 miles through an enemy's country, from Santa Fe to Saltillo, is one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. During the march this command fought two battles against vastly superior forces, and in each defeated the enemy. The battle of Bracito, fought on Christmas day, opened an entrance into the town of El Paso, while that of the Sacramento, fought on the 28th of February, 1847, secured the surrender of Chihuahua, a city of great wealth, and containing more than 40,000 inhabitants.

While these events were transpiring on the eastern borders of the republic, the Pacific coast had become

the scene of military operations, less brilliant, but more important in their results. In the early part of June, 1846, Captain Fremont, of the topographical engineers, while engaged at the head of about sixty men in exploring a southern route to Oregon, having been first threatened with an attack by De Castro, the Mexican governor on the California coast, and learning afterwards that the governor was preparing an expedition against the American settlers near San Francisco, raised the standard of opposition to the Mexican government in California.

After having defeated in various engagements several greatly superior Mexican forces, on the 4th of July Fremont and his companions declared the independence of California. A few days later Commodore Sloat, having previously been informed of the commencement of hostilities on the Rio Grande, hoisted the American flag at Monterey. In the latter part of July Commodore Stockton assumed the command of the Pacific squadron, soon after which he took possession of San Diego, and in conjunction with Fremont entered the city of Los Angeles without opposition; and on the 22d of August, 1846, the whole of California was in the undisputed military possession of the United States. In December following, soon after the arrival of General Kearney from his overland expedition, the Mexican inhabitants of California attempted to regain possession of the government, but the insurrection was soon suppressed.

It has been stated heretofore that after the close of the armistice which succeeded the capture of Monterey, the American troops under General Taylor spread themselves over Coahuila and Tamaulipas. In the mean-

time the plan of an attack on Vera Cruz, the principal Mexican port on the gulf, had been matured at Washington, and General Scott was sent out to take complete command of the army in Mexico. By the withdrawal of most of the regulars under General Taylor's command for the attack on Vera Cruz, the entire force of the Northern American army, extending from Matamoras to Monterey and Saltillo, was reduced to about 10,000 volunteers and a few companies of the regular artillery and cavalry, while at the same time the Mexican general, Santa Anna, was known to be at San Luis Potosi, at the head of 22,000 of the best troops in Mexico, prepared to oppose the further progress of General Taylor or to advance upon him in his own quarters.

In the early part of February, 1847, General Taylor, after leaving adequate garrisons in Monterey and Saltillo, proceeded with about 5,000 men to Agua Nueva, where he remained until the 21st of the month, when the advance of Santa Anna, with his whole army, induced him to fall back to Buena Vista, a very strong position a few miles in advance of Saltillo. Here the road runs north and south through a narrow defile, skirted on the west by impassable gullies, and on the east by a succession of rugged ridges and precipitous ravines which extend back nearly to the mountains. On the elevated plateau or table-land formed by the concentration of these ridges, General Taylor drew up his little army, numbering in all 4,759 men, of whom only 453 were regular troops; and here on the 22d of February he was confronted by the entire Mexican army, then numbering, according to Santa Anna's official report, about 17,000 men, but stated by him in

his demand for the surrender of the Americans to be 20,000.

On the morning of the next day, the 23d of February, the enemy began the attack with great impetuosity; but the resistance was as determined as the assault, and after a hard fought battle, which was continued during the greater part of the day, the Mexican force was driven in disorder from the field, with a loss of more than 1,500 men. The American loss in killed, wounded and missing was 746. Among these twenty-eight officers were killed on the field. This important victory broke up the army of Santa Anna, and by effectually securing the frontier of the Rio Grande, allowed the Americans to turn their whole attention and strength to the great enterprise of the campaign, the capture of Vera Cruz and the march thence to the Mexican capital.

CHAPTER V.

1848.

SCOTT CAPTURES VERA CRUZ — BATTLE OF CERRO GORDO—PEROTE SURRENDERS—PUEBLA OCCUPIED —DEPLETION OF ARMY—RE-ENFORCED—"ON," TO MEXICO—FIRST VIEW OF CITY—DETOUR TO SOLID GROUND—BATTLES OF CONTRERAS AND CHURUBUSCO—ARMISTICE—FRUITLESS EFFORTS FOR PEACE—BATTLE OF MOLINO DEL REY—STORMING OF CHAPULTEPEC—THE CITY OCCUPIED—PEACE—NUMBERS OF ARMY AND NAVY—LOSSES—BIVOUAC OF THE DEAD.

ON THE 9th of March, 1847, General Winfield Scott, in command of an army of 12,000 men, landed without opposition a short distance south of Vera Cruz in full view of the city and the renowned castle of San Juan d'Ulua. On the 12th the investment of the city was completed; on the 18th the trenches were opened, and on the 22d the first batteries began their fire at the distance of 800 yards from the city. From the 22d until the morning of the 26th almost one continued roar of artillery prevailed, the city and castle batteries answering to those of the besiegers, and the shells and shot were rained upon the devoted town with terrible activity, and with an awful destruction of life and property. At length, just as arrangements had been made for an assault, the governor of the city made overtures for surrender. On the night of the 27th the articles of

capitulation were signed, and on the 29th the American flag was unfurled over the walls of the city and castle.

The way was now open for the march towards the Mexican capital, and on the 8th of April General Twiggs was sent forward, leading the advance, on the Jalapa road. But Santa Anna, although defeated at Buena Vista, had raised another army, and with 12,000 men had strongly intrenched himself on the heights of Cerro Gordo, which completely commanded the only road which leads through the mountains into the interior. General Twiggs reached this position on the 12th, but it was not until the morning of the 18th, when the commander-in-chief and the whole army had arrived, that the daring assault was made. Before noon of that day every position of the enemy had been stormed in succession, and 3,000 prisoners had been taken, together with forty pieces of bronze artillery, 5,000 stand of arms, with other munitions and materials of war.

On the day following the battle the army entered Jalapa, and on the 22d the strong castle of Perote surrendered without resistance with its vast armament and munitions of war. On the 15th of May the advance under General Worth entered the ancient and renowned city of Puebla; and when the entire army had been concentrated there, in the very heart of Mexico, so greatly had it been reduced by sickness, deaths, and the expiration of terms in the volunteer service, that it was found to number only 5,000 effective men. With this small force it was impossible to keep open a communication with Vera Cruz, and the army was left for a time to its own resources, until the arrival of supplies and reinforcements enabled it to march upon the Mexican capital.

At length, on the 7th of August, General Scott, having increased his effective force to nearly 11,000 men, in addition to a moderate garrison left at Puebla, commenced his march from the latter place to the capital of the republic. On the third day of their march they reached the pass of Rio Frio, forty-five miles distant from the City of Mexico. This was the highest point of their line of march, being 10,120 feet above the ocean. At this point the army had anticipated resistance, and indeed some defensive works had been commenced. But their abandonment left the road to the capital unobstructed.

A march of a few miles further and the army passed over the highest crest of the mountains; and one of the most splendid scenes of the world opened upon the eyes of the weary soldiers. The whole vast plain of Mexico was before them. The coldness of the air, their fatigue and danger were forgotten, and their eyes were the only sense that had enjoyment. Mexico with its lofty towers and superabundance of domes, its bright reality and its former fame, its modern splendor and its ancient magnificence, was before them; while around on every side its multitude of lakes seemed like silver stars emblazoned upon a velvet mantle. On the 11th the advanced division under General Twiggs reached Ayotla fifteen miles from the city.

A direct march to the capital by the national road had been contemplated, but the route in that direction presented, from the nature of the ground and the strength of the fortifications, almost insurmountable difficulties; and an approach by way of Chalco and San Augustin, by passing around Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, to the south, was thought more practicable, and

on the 18th the entire army had succeeded in reaching San Augustin, ten miles south of the city, where arrangements were made for final operations.

The City of Mexico, situated near the western bank of Lake Texcoco and surrounded by numerous canals and ditches, could be approached only by long, narrow causeways leading over impassable marshes, while the gates to which they conducted were strongly fortified. Beyond the causeways, commanding the outer approaches to the city, were the strongly fortified posts of Chapultepec and Churubusco and the batteries of Contreras and San Antonio, armed with nearly 100 cannon and surrounded by grounds either marshy or so covered by volcanic rocks that they were thought by the enemy entirely impracticable for military operations.

Seven thousand Mexican troops under General Valencia held the exterior defense of Contreras, while Santa Anna had a force of nearly 25,000 men in the rear, prepared to lend his aid where most needed. On the afternoon of the 19th some fighting occurred in the vicinity of Contreras; and early on the morning of the next day the batteries of that strong position were carried by an impetuous assault, which lasted only seventeen minutes. In this short space of time less than 4,000 American troops had captured the most formidable entrenchments, within which were posted 7,000 Mexicans. The post of San Antonio being flanked and unsupported was evacuated by its garrison, which was terribly cut up in the retreat.

The fortified post of Churubusco, about four miles northeast from the heights of Contreras, was the next point of attack. Here nearly the entire army of the enemy was now concentrated, and here the great battle

of the day was fought; but on every part of the field the Americans were victorious, and the entire Mexican force was driven back upon the city, and upon the only remaining fortress of Chapultepec. Thus ended the battles of the memorable 20th of August, in which 9,000



GENERAL SCOTT.

Americans, assailing strongly fortified positions, had vanquished an army of 30,000 Mexicans.

On the morning of the 21st while General Scott was about to take up battering positions, preparatory to summoning the city to surrender, he received from the enemy propositions which terminated in the conclusion

of an armistice for the purpose of negotiating a peace. With surprising infatuation the enemy demanded terms that were due only to conquerors; and on the 7th of September hostilities were recommenced. On the morning of the 8th the Molino del Rey, or "King's Mill," and the Casa de Meta, the principal outer defenses of the fortress of Chapultepec, were stormed and carried by General Worth after a desperate assault, in which he lost one-fourth of his entire force.

The reduction of the castle of Chapultepec itself, situated on an abrupt, rocky height 150 feet above the surrounding grounds, was a still more formidable undertaking. Several batteries were opened against this position on the 12th, and on the 13th the citadel and all its outworks were carried by storm; but not without very heavy loss to the American army. The battle was continued during the day on the lines of the great causeways before mentioned; and when night suspended the dreadful conflict one division of the American army rested in the suburbs of Mexico and another was actually within the gates of the city.

During the night which followed the army of Santa Anna and the officers of the national government abandoned the city, and at 7 o'clock on the following morning the American flag was proudly floating to the breeze above the walls of the national palace of Mexico. The American army had reached its destination. Our soldiers had gained the objects of their toils and sufferings; and, as the fruit of many victories, were at last permitted to repose on their laurels, in the far-famed "Halls of the Montezumas."

Thus Mexico, the capital of the ancient Aztecs, the seat of the Spanish-American empire in America, had

passed from Aztec and from Spaniard to the Anglo-American, the bold, hardy, energetic, ingenious, invincible, ambitious and adventurous being, whose genius the forms of civilization cannot confine, and to whose dominion continents are inadequate.

In what hour of time or limit of space shall this man of the moderns, this conqueror over land and seas, nations and governments, find rest in the completion of his mighty progress? Commencing his march in the cold regions of Scandinavia; no ice chilled his blood, no wilderness delayed his footsteps, no labor wearied his industry, no arms arrested his march, no empire subdued his power. Over armies and over empires, over lands and over seas, in heat and cold, and wilderness and flood, amidst the desolations of death and the decays of disease, this north-man has moved on in might and majesty, steady as the footsteps of time, and fixed as the decrees of fate.

How singular, how romantically strange is this,—his wild adventure and marvelous conquest in the valley of valleys! How came the north-man and the Moorish Celt here to meet and here to battle, in this great Mexican valley? Look at it! Inquire! Ask yourself how came they here! Are they the citizens by nature of this continent? Are they the aborigines of these wild and wonderful forests? Never! How came they then to be contending for the lands and groves of those whose children they are not?

In the beginning of the sixteenth century Hernando Cortez landed on the coast; and at the head of Spanish troops marched on to the conquest of Mexico, over whose effeminate inhabitants the Spaniard for more than three centuries held undivided dominion. Not

many years after the Anglo Saxon landed on the coasts of the northern Atlantic. He, too, marched on to conquest. The native citizens of the forest disappeared before him. Forests, mountains and Indians were ineffectual to oppose him. From the banks of the St. Lawrence to the Sabine he is conqueror over nature and native. In the south the natives die or become slaves to the Spaniard. In the north they fade and perish before the Anglo-American.

The one spreads his empire from the Gulf of Mexico to the far shores of California; the other from the Atlantic to the mountains and western coast of Oregon. Each extends over breadths of land and power of resources unknown to the empires of antiquity. Egypt and her millions, with the famed valley of the Nile, fade before the broad magnificence, the mighty growth of these American empires. Even the terrible and far-seeing eagles of Rome grow dizzy and dim in their sight, as they look down from the summits of history upon these continental nations—these colossal giants of the modern world.

And now this Spaniard and this north-man meet, in battle panoply, in this valley of volcanoes, by the ancient graves of unknown nations, on the lava-covered soil where nature once poured forth her awe-inspiring flames, and the brave Aztecan once sung of glory and of greatness. Three centuries since these warrior nations had left their homes beyond the wide Atlantic. Two thousand miles from each other they planted the seats of their empire; and now, as if time in the moral world had completed another of its grand revolutions, they have met in mortal conflict. Like the EAGLE and the VULTURE, who had long pursued different circles in the

heavens, and long made prey of the weak tenants of the air, their circles have been enlarged until they cross each other. They meet; they shriek; they fight. The victorious eagle bears the vulture to the earth and screams forth through the clouds his triumphant song of victory.

The conquest of the Mexican capital was the finishing stroke of the war; and on the 2d of February following the terms of a treaty of peace were concluded upon by the American commissioner and the Mexican government. This treaty, after having received some modifications from the American senate, was adopted by that body on the 10th of March, and subsequently ratified by the Mexican congress on the 30th of May of the same year.

The most important provisions of the treaty were those by which the United States obtained a large increase of territory, embracing that which was then known as New Mexico and Upper California. The boundary between the two countries was fixed in the center of the Rio Grande, up that stream to the southern boundary of New Mexico, thence westward, within prescribed limits, to the Pacific ocean. The free navigation of the Gulf of California and of the River Colorado was guaranteed to the United States.

For the territory and privileges thus obtained the United States surrendered to Mexico "all castles, forts, territories, places and possessions" not embraced in the ceded territories, agreed to pay Mexico \$15,000,000 and to assume the liquidation of all debts due American citizens from the Mexican government.

The land thus acquired was within a fraction of 750,000 square miles, which was thereby removed from

the policies and influences of Mexico and placed under those of the most liberal, free, progressive and happy government on the face of the earth.

Who can assert that the establishing of American policies and principles firmly in Texas, and extending and maintaining them over New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, part of Colorado and all of California, has not ministered to the welfare of mankind? What if they were still under control of Mexico, or had passed to the dominion of any other nation, who could and would have limited the glorious destiny and beneficent influence of our own country?

When America shall canonize her political saints, whose administrations and personal actions have brought glory, honor and profit to the commonwealth, Thomas Jefferson and his agents in France who opportunely secured Louisiana will not deserve more brilliant crowns than will James K. Polk and his armed allies who secured Texas, New Mexico and California, upon which England had fixed a covetous eye, and for the loss of which she exacted better terms from the United States in the settlement of the question of the northern boundary of Oregon than would have been conceded had we not at the time been burdened with the Mexican contest.

The American navy rendered very valuable services in the war with Mexico. The enemy had no navy, therefore there were no engagements upon the sea. But the blockade so effectually enforced by the skill and vigilance of the navy greatly contributed to the exclusion of food, munitions of war and even skilled officers and soldiers, which other nations would have willingly sent into Mexico but for the presence of the navy. The

effective action of the Pacific squadron has already been stated, and it consisted of three frigates and six other war vessels, carrying in all 275 guns.

The gulf squadron under Commodore Perry numbered seven ships of war, four steamers and one brig. On the 14th of November the fleet took possession of Tampico. In the same month Tuspan and Tabasco were captured. Both of these cities were well defended by Mexican troops and fortifications, and the latter place being about 100 miles up a narrow and crooked river with defenses, the navy had severe fighting on both water and land, but accomplished the capture of all defenses and finished their work with great credit.

In the assault upon Vera Cruz and San Juan d'Ulua the navy co-operated with the army on both land and water.

STATISTICS

OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY ENGAGED IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

The following tables show the number of regulars and volunteers, the number furnished by each state, and the total strength and losses of the army:

REGULARS.

Original army in Texas, May, 1846.....	3,554
Number of recruits sent up to April 1, 1848,....	29,603
Total regulars.....	<u>33,157</u>

VOLUNTEERS FURNISHED BY EACH STATE.

Arkansas	1,423
Alabama	3,011
California	558
Florida	323
Georgia	2,047
Indiana	4,470
Illinois	5,973
Iowa	229
Kentucky	4,800
Louisiana	7,448
Massachusetts	1,047
Maryland and the District of Columbia.....	1,330
Michigan.....	972
Missouri ..	6,739
Mississippi	2,319
Mormons.....	585
New York.....	2,665
New Jersey.....	424
North Carolina.....	936
Ohio.....	4,694
Pennsylvania.....	2,464
South Carolina.....	1,054
Tennessee.....	5,410
Texas.....	6,672
Virginia.....	1,303
Wisconsin.....	146
Total volunteers.....	69,042

THE NAVY.

The number of officers, marines and enlisted sailors may not, in the absence of complete statistics, be stated with accuracy; but more than 10,000 men contributed

to the conquest of Mexico, performing duty on ship-board as a part of the American navy, and are rightfully embraced in the number of combatants doing duty in the Mexican war, thus bringing the aggregate up to more than 110,000 in regulars, volunteers and the navy. The actual number in service in Mexico exceeded 80,000. This number was not called out at one time, but in successive periods.

At the time that the war closed, the adjutant general of the army reported that there were actually more than 40,000 men in the field.

Of this number 150 officers and 1,500 men died in battle or from wounds received there; 100 officers and 12,000 men perished by disease, always more fatal than shot or shell; and many more were ruined in health or disabled by wounds—in all about 25,000 men laid down their lives or sacrificed their health in the war.

Of those who gave their lives on the battle field, or who died in hospitals, thousands lie in unmarked and unrecognizable graves, all along the routes of advance and around the captured cities in Mexico.

In the American cemetery, located in the western suburbs of the City of Mexico, over 400 victims to shot, shell or disease, rest in one common grave, and over their remains their country has erected a monument which honors their place of sepulture.

Among the chivalrous soldiers who fell at Buena Vista, and whose bodies were returned to their native states for sepulture, were Colonel McKee and Lieutenant Colonel Henry Clay, junior of Kentucky.

The ceremonies of burial were made additionally impressive by the recital of the following poem, written by Theodore O'Harra for the occasion.

THE BIVOUAC OF THE DEAD.

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on life's parade shall meet
The brave and daring few.
On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

No rumor of the foe's advance
Now swells upon the wind;
No troubled thought at midnight, haunts
Of loved ones left behind;
No vision of the morrow's strife
The warrior's dream alarms;
No braying horn or screaming fife
At dawn shall call to arms.

Their shivered swords are red with rust,
Their plumed heads are bowed;
Their haughty banner trailed in dust
Is now their martial shroud.
And plenteous funeral tears have washed
The red stains from each brow,
And their proud forms in battle gashed
Are free from anguish now.

The neighing steed, the flashing blade,
The trumpet's stirring blast,
The charge, the dreadful cannonade,
The din and shout are past;
Nor war's wild note nor glory's peal
Shall thrill with fierce delight
Those breasts that never more shall feel
The rapture of the fight.

Like the fierce northern hurricane
That sweeps the great plateau,
Flashed with the victory yet to gain,
Came down the serried foe.
Who heard the thunder of the fray
Break o'er the field beneath,
Knew well the watchword of the day
Was "Victory or death!"

Full many a norther's breath has swept
O'er Angostura's plain;
And long the pitying sky has wept
Above its mouldered slain.
The eagle's scream or raven's flight
Or shepherd's pensive lay
Alone now wake each solemn height
That frowned o'er that dread day.

Sons of the "dark and bloody ground,"
Ye must not slumber there,
Where stranger steps and tongues resound
Along the heedless air.
Your own proud land's heroic soil
Shall be your fitter grave.
She claims from war her richest spoil—
The ashes of the brave.

So 'neath their parent turf they rest,
Far from the gory field;
Borne to the Spartan mother's breast
On many a bloody shield;
The sunshine of their native sky
Smiles sadly on them here,
And kindred eyes and hearts watch, by
The heroes' sepulchre.

Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead.
Dear as the blood ye gavel
No impious footsteps here shall tread
The herbage of your grave;
Nor shall your glory be forgot
While Fame her record keeps,
Or Honor points the hallowed spot
Where Valor proudly sleeps.

You marble minstrel's voiceful stone
In deathless song shall tell,
When many a vanished age hath flown,
The story how ye fell,
Nor wreck, nor change, nor winter's blight,
or time's remorseless doom
Shall dim one ray of holy light
That gilds your glorious tomb.

"TAPS."



University of California Library
Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

RF

DISC

JU

4 WK DEC 13 1995

REC'D C.L. DEC 22 '95

4 WK DEC 14 1998

RET DEC 18 '98

4 WK MAR 25 1997

APR 08 '97 REC CL

4 WK DEC 15 2000

DEC 04 '00

4 WK MAY 12 1997

REC'D C.L. JUL 18 '97

41584

315



3 1158 00302 4485

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA 001 092 636 8



